

A JUNIOR HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END
OF THE GREAT WAR OF 1914-1918

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WITH MAPS

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P R E F A C E

THIS little book was written in compliance with a desire expressed for a short outline of the History of England, to be used in forms junior to those in which the larger history of England is at present employed. It is hoped that nothing essential has been omitted, though in the narrow space of 250 pages much compression must necessarily take place. It will be noted that the general shape, and to a large extent the diction, of the original volume have been preserved. The last three hundred years of the annals of England have been dealt with at somewhat greater length, in proportion, than those of the Early and Middle Ages, as being the part of the history of his own country which the young student should first endeavour to master. A chapter on the Great War of 1914-18 has been added to the original scheme of the book, in compliance with the expressed desire of friends, though it is a difficult undertaking to survey that mighty struggle in its true perspective so soon after the conclusion of peace.

OXFORD, *January* 1920

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JUNIOR ~~HISTORY~~ HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

CELTIC AND ROMAN BRITAIN

THE earliest dwellers in our island were scattered families of hunters and fishers, living in the lowest stage of savagery, their very existence would be forgotten but for the fact that the explorer sometimes unearths their graves and their rude tools and weapons of flint and bone. They were a short, dark race, ignorant of the use of metals, and dwelling in caves, or rude huts among the woods.

But some seven or eight centuries before Christ it would seem that these primitive settlers were driven away by the Celts, a people who had swept over the whole of Western Europe, as far as the ^{The Celts} Atlantic. Two waves of these invaders crossed the English Channel—first the Gaels, who occupied Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, then the Britons, who settled in the southern parts of our island.

These Celtic tribes had made some advance toward civilisation, they kept cattle, farmed the land, had a coinage of gold and copper money, and traded with each other, and even with their kinsmen, the Celts of Gaul, who crossed the Straits for the sake of the tin that was found in Cornwall. Each tribe lived apart, governed by its own king or chief, their priests, who were called Druids, had also great influence over the

people But the Celts were still rude and barbarous in many of their ways, they practised horrid rites of human sacrifice, and strangers were startled by the wildness of their looks, their bodies being tattooed in bright blue patterns with the dye of woad

In the years 55 and 54 B C Julius Cæsar, the great Roman conqueror, twice crossed the sea and invaded Kent But after penetrating beyond the Thames, and receiving the homage of some of the British chiefs, Cæsar was called back by troubles in Gaul, and the island was not again invaded by a Roman army for a hundred years At last the generals of Claudius Cæsar, in 43 A D, landed in Kent and conquered the whole of southern and eastern Britain Little resistance seems to have been met with except from the tribes of Wales and of the Yorkshire moors

But in the reign of Nero the whole of eastern Britain rose in rebellion, provoked by oppressive government. The leader was Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, in Norfolk and Suffolk, who had to avenge cruel wrongs that she had suffered from the Romans Her hordes sacked London and Camulodunum (Colchester), but were finally defeated by the governor, Paulinus, and the queen slew herself on seeing that her cause was lost (61 A D)

Twenty years later, under the virtuous and able governor Agricola, the limits of the British province were extended as far as the Clyde and Forth The newly-conquered northern districts were constantly troubled by descents of the wild tribes of Caledonia (the Highlands), and to meet this danger the Emperor Hadrian fixed the Roman boundary by a great wall, which ran 80 miles from sea to sea, across the Northumbrian moors

The
Roman
Occupation, 43-
410 A.D

from Carlisle to Newcastle, strengthened by forts at convenient intervals (124 A.D.) Later, a second line of defence, called the Wall of Antoninus, from the name of the reigning emperor, was built from the Forth to the Clyde, but soon after abandoned

The Roman occupation of Britain lasted 360 years, during which time the country gained much in civilisation and prosperity Roads were made and towns built, tin, lead, and copper mines were worked, and such great tracts of land were placed under corn that Britain acted as the granary of the Roman provinces of the Rhine Toward the end of this period Christianity was established as the religion of the land, and we hear of British bishops attending synods and councils on the Continent

With the decline of the power of the Empire troubles came upon Britain, as upon all the other Roman provinces Barbarians from the North—the Picts from the Highlands and the Scots from Ireland,—together with pirates from over-seas—the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles from North Germany and Denmark—descended upon the land, and, as the Roman garrisons were weakened and at last entirely withdrawn (410 A.D.), the country fell a prey to her invaders Petty kings sprang up everywhere, but they could not defend their tribesmen from the oncoming enemy

CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH

LEGENDS relate that, some forty years after the departure of the Romans, Vortigern, King of Kent, hired

two pirate chiefs to protect him and his unwarlike people from the raids of the Picts and Scots

These sea-kings, Hengist and Horsa, who were Jutes from Denmark, drove away the barbarians, but then, instead of departing, they settled themselves in the Isle of Thanet, and, turning their arms against their employers, after a long struggle conquered the whole of Kent

A few years later new bands of wild heathen conquerors descended on Britain. These invaders were Saxons, under the chief Aella, who landed on the southern coast of Britain. They sacked the Roman town of Anderida, near Pevensey, and, subduing the country around, established their Kingdom of the South Saxons—Sussex (477 A D)

Another band of Saxons, under Cerdic, twenty years later, seized the adjoining country to the west, which they called Wessex, or the Kingdom of the West Saxons, while yet another tribe of kindred blood planted themselves north of the Thames, and were known as the East Saxons, and their land as Essex.

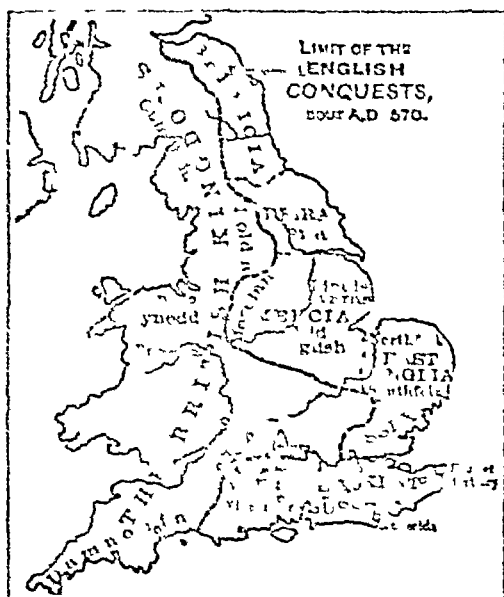
But the Angles, or English, though they came later than the Saxons and Jutes, were the most numerous among the invaders of Britain. Two Anglian bands, calling themselves the North Folk and the South Folk (from whom the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk get their names), founded the kingdom of the East Angles early in the sixth century (520 A D)

Further north, other Angles won the land beyond the Humber, and established the two kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, which, when afterward united, obtained the common name of Northumbria (547 A D)

Last of all was founded the midland kingdom of Mercia—the "March" or borderland which met the

yet unconquered districts of the Britons. It was formed late in the sixth century, by the amalgamation of four or five separate bands of Anglian settlers.

The establishment of these kingdoms had only taken place after one hundred and twenty years of hard fighting, and the Britons, now called the "Welsh" by their enemies, still maintained themselves in the west



But in 577 A D, at the battle of Deorham, the West Saxons defeated three British kings, and possessed themselves of their lands up to the mouth of the Severn. Thirty-six years later, in 613 A D, the Northumbrian Angles made a similar advance after a great victory at Deva (Chester), and cut their way to the Irish Sea. By these two advances of the invaders the Celts were cut off from each other, and driven into three separate districts—Cumbria in the north, Wales

in the centre, and Damnonia (Cornwall and Devon) in the south

The Angles and Saxons were thus in possession of practically the whole of the region now known as England. Each of their states was ruled by its own king, who had under him aldermen, or military chiefs, and shire-reeves (sheriffs) who collected the king's dues and acted as his bailiffs. But the king was by no means absolute, his authority was limited by the tribal *Witan*, or Assembly of Wise Men, who met to deliberate on all matters of importance. Besides this great council each shire had its own meeting or "shire-moot," for the management of its affairs, while the freemen of every village met in a "tun-moot" to settle local disputes.

The English worshipped many gods, such as Woden (the father of heaven) and Thor (the god of strength), whose memory still survives in our names for the days of the week (Wednesday and Thursday), and in the names of many places, such as Wednesbury and Thursley.

CHAPTER III

THE CONVERSION OF BRITAIN

THE rulers of the early English kingdoms were perpetually at war, each aimed at being supreme in the land, and when one of them succeeded in subduing his rivals, he was called "Bretwalda," or supreme head of Britain. In the year 595 the chief king in the country was Aethelbert of Kent. He had married a

Christian princess, Bertha, daughter of the Frankish King of Paris, and when a band of Christian missionaries arrived at his court, he received them graciously. The missionaries were led by a monk, Augustine, who was sent to Britain by the great Pope Gregory. Years before, it is said, Gregory had been struck by the appearance of some fair-haired English boys in the slave-market at Rome, and had then conceived the wish to convert the English to Christianity.

The
Mission
of Augus-
tine, 597

On becoming Pope, he sent forth the mission which was to bear the Gospel to southern Britain. King Aethelbert was himself baptized, with many of his nobles, and before long the kings of the East Saxons and East Angles, who were his vassals, also professed themselves Christians. Augustine was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and his companion, Melitus, Bishop of Rochester.

A daughter of Aethelbert and Bertha was married to Eadwine, King of Northumbria, and through her influence and that of her chaplain Paulinus, Eadwine himself was baptized, and Christianity professed throughout his land.

Chris-
tianity in
North-
umbria.

But Penda, the heathen king of Mercia, joined with the chief of the Welsh princes to overthrow Eadwine, and when Eadwine was slain the Northern Kingdom lapsed for a while into heathendom (632 A.D.). The Gospel was again brought to Northumbria when Oswald, a prince of Bernicia, had won back the kingdom. He and his brother Oswy, who succeeded him on the throne, had learned Christianity, while exiles at Iona in the Scottish Hebrides, from the followers of Columba, the great Irish missionary. When he had become king, Oswald sent to the monastery at Iona for two pious

monks, Aidan and Finan, to teach the Northumbrians the faith of Christ. He himself fell in battle not long after, but when his brother Oswy had defeated and slain the heathen king Penda, and made Northumbria the leading English state, Mercia was also converted by the efforts of Ceadda (Chad), a follower of Aidan (655 A.D.).

The north of England, therefore, had received Christianity from Iona, while the south owed its conversion to Augustine and Rome. But the division between them was not to last for long. A Council held at Whitby in 664 decided that Roman observances should be conformed to by the Churches of the North as well as of the South, and shortly afterwards the English Church was organised into a united whole by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury. Bishops were appointed throughout the land, each with a band of clergy to work under him. Before a hundred years were passed the English Church was noted for its men of great learning, wisdom, and saintliness of life.

Perhaps the most famous of these was Winfrith (or Boniface), an English missionary who went to bear the Gospel to Germany, and suffered martyrdom (737). Bæda ("the Venerable Bede"), a monk of Northumbria, translated the New Testament from Greek into English, and wrote an Ecclesiastical History of England, from which we derive most of our knowledge of his times (d. 735). Alcuin, another Northumbrian, was so great a scholar that his fame reached the Frankish emperor, Charles the Great, who sent for him to dwell with him at his capital of Aachen.

After the death of Oswy and his son Egfrith, Northumbria became less powerful, and Mercia rose to hold the first place among the English kingdoms,

under several strong kings But when Offa (757-796 A D) the last great Mercian ruler, had passed away, Egbert of Wessex seized the supremacy for his kingdom (828 A D), and its dominion proved a more lasting one than those that had gone before.

CHAPTER IV

THE DANISH INVASIONS

Just as Egbert was establishing his over-lordship in England the country began to suffer from a new and terrible race of invaders who now swooped down upon its coast The Vikings, as these ^{The} Vikings wild pirates were called, came from Denmark and Scandinavia, and were the terror of Western Christendom At first they only descended suddenly on some wealthy town or monastery near the coast, and after plundering it made off again to the sea. But soon they ventured on longer expeditions inland, and began to settle down in the places that they had seized, and, being trained warriors, they easily repulsed the people of the countryside when they tried to dislodge them. Northumbria and Mercia suffered bitterly from these invaders, and after Egbert's death (836 A D) Wessex also was harried by their raids during the reigns of the weak king Aethelwulf and his successors

At last, in 867, the Danes formed themselves into what they called "the Great Army," and made an organised descent on England They occupied Northumbria and East Anglia, and then attacked Wessex. But here they were met by a man capable of with-

standing them and saving his country from their dominion

Alfred, grandson of Ecgbert and youngest son of King Aethelwulf, was at this time a youth of eighteen. He fought six battles against the Danes along with his brother, King Aethelred, and when Aethelred was slain Alfred became King of Wessex, and took up the duty of defending Christianity and civilisation against the wild heathen of the North.

At first he made peace with the Danes, giving them great stores of treasure, and they were induced to leave his land for a time, during which they fell upon Mercia and conquered it. But soon they returned against Wessex, which was now the only part of England that still resisted them. Alfred fought desperately, and though at first defeated and driven to seek refuge as a fugitive in the marshes of Athelney in Somersetshire, he finally gained a great victory at Ethandune. Surrounding his enemies at Chippenham he forced them to accept his terms, by which they promised to leave Wessex for ever, and the Danish king, Guthrum, did him homage as over-lord, receiving from him the lands of the East Angles and East Saxons on condition that his people became Christians (878 A D).

This agreement between Alfred and the Danes was stated in a document called "Alfred and Guthrum's Frith," which recorded the division of England into two halves. The "Danelagh" lay north of a line drawn from the Thames near London across to Chester, running for some way along the famous Watling Street. Alfred's kingdom, which lay to the south of this line, comprised Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and Western Mercia.

So miserable and distressed was the condition of the land after the devastations of the Danes that Alfred had many years' work before him to restore it to prosperity



He prepared to resist his enemies in future by fitting out a navy, which consisted of larger war vessels than had yet been seen. He also organised his army, and

collected and put in order the ancient laws of the land. But most of all he directed his efforts to restore the civilisation which England possessed before the wars, and, gathering learned men from all parts, he founded schools and encouraged learning. He himself translated Bede's History from Latin into English, and caused the celebrated "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" to be compiled. When the Danes under Hastings came against him once more, in the end of his reign, he drove them off with ease.

This great and good king was succeeded by his son Edward the Elder (900-925), a brave and capable ruler, who subdued the Danes of central England as far as the Humber. Edward's son, Aethelstan (925-941), extended his power further north, and became lord of all Britain, after his great victory of Brunanburgh over the allied forces of the Danes and the Scots and the Cumbrians, which added Northumbria to his dominions. His brothers, Edmund and Eadred, followed him on the throne, and in their day arose the first of the great clerical statesmen of English history.

Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury, was first known as a reformer of the Church, who aimed at introducing a stricter discipline among the clergy. While engaged in enforcing his own ideas of morality he quarrelled with Eadwig, the successor of Eadred, declaring that the king's marriage with his cousin Elgiva was unlawful. Eadwig banished Dunstan, but after a struggle the Church party triumphed, and, on the death of Eadwig, Dunstan was recalled by the new king, Eadgar (959-975), who made him prime minister and Archbishop of Canterbury. Dunstan devoted his energies to the uniting of the people of England, inducing the king to conciliate the Danes by showing his complete confidence in them,

and appointing some of them to important offices of the state, so that the two races were blended into one nation

Eadgar was the last of the able kings that had followed Alfred. His young son, Edward, succeeded him, but was murdered three years later by his stepmother, who wished to secure the throne for her own child Aethelred II (987-1016). This prince earned in a long reign of thirty-eight years the name of "the Redeless" or ill-counselled, because he was so prone to take bad advice. The Danes were not slow to find out that a weak king now ruled in England, and fresh hordes of Vikings swept down upon the land. Aethelred tried to bribe them with money to go away, and raised a tax called the *Danegelt* to satisfy their demands. The Danes took his treasure, but only returned year after year in greater numbers, to the misery of the kingdom. At last, Swegen, King of Denmark, brought a great army, bent not on raiding but on a permanent conquest of the land, and the Witan, weary of their contemptible ruler, were induced by a traitor called Eadric Streona to hail Swegen as King of England. When both Swegen and Aethelred died, the struggle continued between their sons, both great warriors and able men—Edmund "Ironside" the Englishman and Cnut the Dane. They waged a fierce war with each other, fighting no less than six pitched battles in the year 1016, at the end of which they met and agreed to divide the realm between them, Cnut taking the northern half and Edmund the southern.

Within a year, however, Edmund was murdered, and Cnut became king of all England (1016-35). His career belied all expectations, for his reign of nineteen years was a time of peace and prosperity to

the land. He proved himself a just and able ruler, treating his English subjects with as much favour as the Danes, indeed, he practically became an Englishman himself, and governed his Scandinavian realms from London, his favourite residence. He divided England into four great provinces or earldoms, two of which—Northumbria and East Anglia—he gave to Danish governors, and two—Wessex and Mercia—to Englishmen, the Earls Godwine and Leofric.

After Cnut's death his two sons Harold and Harthacnut disputed the kingdom between them for a few years, but both dying early, the Witan went back to the old royal house, and chose as successor Edward (1042–1066), the son of King Aethelred II, whose claim was supported by Earl Godwine.

This king, who has been called "the Confessor" on account of his piety, was religious and well-intentioned, but destitute of all practical wisdom or strength of character. While he was king in name, the country was really ruled first by Earl Godwine and then by his son Harold. When Edward died the Witan elected Earl Harold to the throne, the only heir of the house of Alfred being a young boy, Edgar the Etheling, who was rejected because the kingdom required a grown man as its ruler.

But another claimant to the crown arose—William, Duke of Normandy, the late king's cousin on the mother's side, who claimed that he had once been named by Edward as his successor, and who had extorted a promise of support from Harold years before.

William collected a great army, not only from Normandy, but from all corners of Europe, and landed in Sussex. He came ashore unopposed, for King Harold was absent in the north, where he had repulsed

another invader, the last of the great Vikings, Harold Hardrada, King of Norway. He had just defeated and slain him at the battle of Stamford Bridge, near York, when the news of William's invasion came to hand. Harold hurried back to with-
Landing
of the
Normans

stand the Normans, gathering an army together in the southern provinces of England, for the earls of the North were not loyal to him, and sent no levies in time for the fight.

At Senlac, near Hastings, the great battle took place. The Englishmen, who fought on foot, drawn up in one thick line behind a palisade on a hillside, for long held off the invaders. But at last they were so galled by the arrows of the Norman archers that they broke their line, and charged the enemy. The Norman horsemen then poured
Battle of
Hastings,
1066

in upon them, riding through and scattering the whole army. Harold fell, mortally wounded by an arrow in the eye, but even after his death his retainers and the nobles of Wessex continued the fight, and perished to the last man round the English standards (October 14, 1066).

CHAPTER V

THE NORMAN KINGS (1066-1154)

MEETING with no further resistance, the Conqueror advanced on London. The Witan had assembled there and elected Edgar the Etheling to the throne. But that prince's supporters soon saw that their
William I,
1066-1087

cause was hopeless, they yielded, and William was declared king and crowned on Christmas day, 1066.

To satisfy the demands of his followers, the king granted them all the lands of the Englishmen who had fought against him at Hastings. By this means all south-eastern England passed away from the old land-holders. Soon risings in the North and West, which William subdued, caused the country there also to be seized by the king, and this, too, was portioned out among his military retainers (1068). In the following year a more serious rebellion in Northumbria was headed by Waltheof, Earl of Northampton, aided by Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland, and Swegen of Denmark.

William crushed the rebels, and though he pardoned Waltheof, he wreaked a terrible vengeance on the North Country by laying waste the whole of the Yorkshire plain from the Humber to the Tees.

In the Fens of Cambridgeshire a small body of Englishmen still held out against the Normans, led by Hereward the Wake, a noted warrior, who defied his enemies for more than a year. Betrayed at last by the monks of Ely, the little force was defeated and scattered, but "the last of the English," as Hereward has been called, was pardoned and granted lands in Warwickshire.

Stern and harsh as William was, he was a just man, and intended to govern England with law and order. His great work was the changing of the realm into a feudal monarchy, though one whose character differed considerably from that of the monarchies of the Continent. The whole kingdom, except the royal estates, was held by its owners on feudal tenure—that is to say, by an oath of allegiance to the king as over-lord, and a promise to serve under him in time of war. Four-fifths of the land-holders were now Normans,

and the English peasantry who had passed under their power fared ill. They were reduced to the condition of *villenaige*, being bound to the land and not permitted to depart, though they could not be dispossessed of their farms or sold away like slaves. But when estates passed from hand to hand the villeins passed with them.

Of the Norman landholders some held but a single manor, some scores or even hundreds. The greater men, or barons, as they began to be called, were each responsible to the king for a fixed number of horse-soldiers, or knights, and granted out parts of their land to fighting men sufficient in numbers to make up the quota that they owed. The large majority of these sub-tenants, no less than of the baronage, were of foreign blood. It was but a small proportion of the old English landholders who survived and fell in with the new system.

The Church too was changed under William, foreign bishops being appointed instead of English ones. Lanfranc, a learned Italian monk, became Archbishop of Canterbury, and by his counsel William instituted at this time Church courts, which gave bishops the right to try all ecclesiastical cases without interference from the king's magistrates.

In 1085 William caused the famous "Domesday Book" to be written. It was a record of the value, size, and population of every estate in Eng-
land, with the names of their owners and their duties toward the king. In 1086
William summoned all landholders, great and small, to the Great Moot of Salisbury, where they did homage to the king, swearing to follow him in war even against their own feudal over-lords if they should revolt against the sovereign.

William had to quell several rebellions in the latter

years of his life, his eldest son, Robert, who sought help from France to make war on his father, being the worst of his enemies. In 1087 William died from injuries received at Mantes, during a raid into France. He was a great man, a prudent and just ruler according to his lights, but so unscrupulous in his ambition and so hard and pitiless that he was feared rather than loved by his subjects. His cruel "Forest Laws" inflicted death or mutilation on all who interfered with his pleasures of hunting. It was said, "He loved the tall deer as if he was their father", and his subjects' lives seemed nothing to him in comparison with the welfare of the stags in his royal forests.

The Conqueror had three sons. To the eldest, Robert, who had rebelled against him, he left not the English crown, but the duchy of Normandy, while William the Red, or "Rufus," his second son, succeeded him as King of England. To his youngest son, Henry, he left only a legacy of £5000, saying that he knew him to be capable of making his own way in the world.

William the Red inherited his father's courage and ability. He crushed the risings of his turbulent barons, defeated the King of the Scots and chiefs of North Wales, and waged a successful war against his brother Robert, finally getting possession of Normandy when Duke Robert went off to Palestine to help in delivering the Holy Sepulchre from the Turks. This expedition in which Robert joined was the first and most famous of the "Crusades," so called because those who took part in them wore the Cross on their breasts and banners.

But William, though he had a fair share of his father's ability, had none of his sense of justice, he was a cruel and wicked ruler who cared nought for his duty

either to God or man. His never-ending demands for money made him the terror of his subjects. He levied unreasonable death-duties on all lay estates when they passed from hand to hand, while when any bishop or abbot died the king used to leave his place empty for months or even years, and meanwhile to keep its revenues for himself.

The see of Canterbury had been vacant for nearly four years after the death of Archbishop Lanfranc, the old councillor of the Conqueror, when the king fell ill, and his tardy conscience reproached him on this subject. He therefore induced a learned and saintly Italian monk, Anselm, to accept the office. On his recovery William returned to his evil courses, but Anselm now withstood him, refusing his shameless demands for money and denouncing his wicked life. William was still more exasperated by Anselm's doing homage to Pope Urban, one of two rival candidates to the papacy, when he had forbidden his subjects to take sides between them, and finally drove the archbishop into exile by his persecutions.

A sudden death ended the Red King's evil doings. Hunting in the New Forest with one of his favourites, Walter Tyrrell, he was struck dead by an ill-aimed arrow of his companion. The slayer fled for his life, and it was long before the king's body was discovered.

Duke Robert of Normandy being absent in Palestine, Henry, the youngest son of the Conqueror, seized the throne. He conciliated the nation by granting a charter, in which he promised to abandon the Henry I
1100-1135 illegal taxation of Rufus, and he won the goodwill of the native English by his marriage with a lady of the old royal line, Matilda, the daughter of Edgar the Etheling's sister, Margaret of Scotland.

Henry justified his father's belief in him,¹ he was a strong and fair-minded man, though selfish and unscrupulous. In his reign the Norman and English races began to mix freely. His own marriage with a princess of the house of Alfred led to many similar unions between the conquerors and the conquered, and the two races insensibly melted into each other.

Soon after his accession, Henry put down a rising of the barons in favour of Duke Robert, and he continued to fight against his brother in Normandy till at Tenchebrai, in 1106, Robert was taken prisoner, and Henry kept him in confinement at Cardiff Castle for the rest of his life.

Henry, like Rufus, had a quarrel with the Church, for when Anselm returned from exile he refused to do homage for his land to the king, saying that the clergy owed fealty to God alone. He went into exile again rather than yield on this point, but a few years later a compromise was arrived at. Anselm agreed to do homage as a feudal tenant for the lands of his see, but was allowed to take up his ring and crozier from the altar of his cathedral to show that his spiritual power came direct from God, and not from the king.

The end of Henry's active and successful reign was clouded by domestic misfortunes. His only son, William, was drowned in the sinking of the *White Ship* off the coast of Normandy. This was a great blow to Henry. Having now only a daughter, Matilda, who was married to Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, he destined her to be his successor, and he made all the chief men of the realm swear to support her.

On Henry's death, however, in 1135, Matilda was

¹ See p. 18

absent abroad, and the Great Council which met in London elected to the throne Stephen of Blois a son of King Henry's sister Adela

A period of lawlessness and civil war now commenced. The barons, finding Stephen a weak ruler, soon rose against him, while the cause of Matilda was taken up by her uncle, King David of Scotland, and her kinsman, Robert, Earl of Gloucester

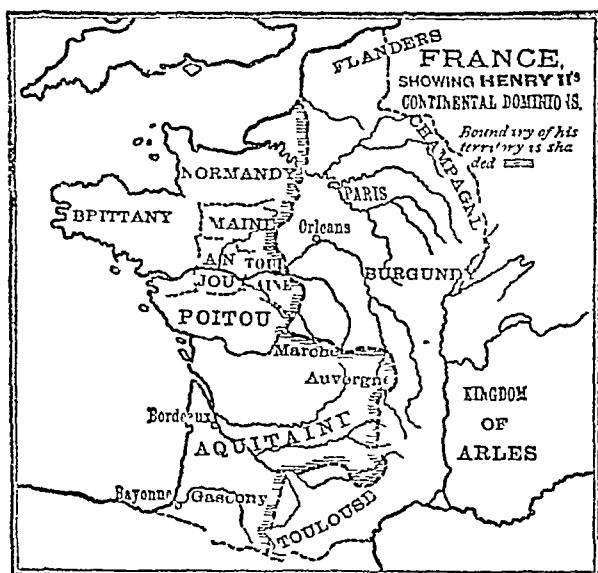
In 1138 an invading army of Scots was defeated at the Battle of the Standard in Yorkshire, where the Archbishop of York led the king's forces on to the field around the standard of the three great Yorkshire saints, St Peter of York, St Wilfred of Ripon, and St John of Beverley. But at Lincoln, in 1141, Stephen was defeated and taken prisoner, and for a while Matilda triumphed. She proved, however, so cruel and haughty that within a short time even her own party deserted her, and she was forced to fly before an army led by Maud of Boulogne, Stephen's wife. Soon after the captive king got free and resumed his place at the head of his adherents.

The kingdom was now at the mercy of the conflicting parties, who fought plundered, and laid bare the country-side until, in 1153, a peace was made at Walingford which put an end to this miserable state of things. It was agreed that Stephen was to hold the crown for his life, but that Henry of Anjou, Matilda's son, should succeed him. The next year (1154) Stephen died, and the young count became king, he started a new dynasty, and he and his race have been called the Plantagenets, from the sprig of broom (*planta genista*) that his father, Geoffrey of Anjou, wore as a badge.

CHAPTER VI

THE ANGEVIN KINGS (1154-1272)

HENRY of Anjou was not only King of England, but also lord of a large part of France, having inherited Anjou from his father and Normandy from his mother, and received Aquitaine with his wife, the Duchess Eleanor. He was a strong man, who at once put down



the disorder that prevailed in England. He pulled down the castles of the turbulent barons, and kept a firm hand on his sheriffs, and sent out judges, who travelled throughout the country to maintain law and order.

A quarrel with the Church was the main trouble of

the first half of Henry's reign. Thomas Becket, son of a London merchant, who had been the king's chancellor or chief secretary, was appointed by him to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1162. From this moment Becket set himself to exalt the Church above the Crown. The rights and privileges of the clergy were the subject of unending dispute between him and the king, for Becket claimed that the Church Courts, founded by William I. and Lanfranc, had the right to try not only all ecclesiastical offences, but all offences in which clergy were concerned. A priest who had committed murder was therefore not to be punished by the civil courts, but only by the ecclesiastical courts, which could impose on him no heavier penalty than suspension from his clerical duties. Henry summoned the Great Council at Clarendon to deal with this matter, and the "Constitutions of Clarendon" were drawn up, which pronounced that an ecclesiastic should be tried by the Church Courts, but if found guilty, should be handed over for punishment to the king's officers.

Becket refused to accept this decision, claiming entire freedom from the royal authority for his clerics, and went into exile on the Continent for six years. In 1170 Henry was reconciled to him, and allowed him to return to England. But Becket at once showed himself more arrogant than ever, the moment that he reached home he excommunicated the Archbishop of York and other bishops and nobles who had, as he thought, wronged him. When Henry was told of this he spoke so angrily against Becket that four knights who overheard him thought they could do the king no better service than rid him of his enemy. They went to Canterbury and slew the archbishop in his own

Thomas
Becket.

cathedral. The horror which the news of this crime aroused in England caused people to look on Becket as a martyr, and the Pope in 1174 declared him a saint. Henry did penance at Canterbury for the murder his servants had committed, and had to give up all his claims to deal with ecclesiastical criminals, so that Becket (though dead) was victorious.

Soon after Becket's death the king took in hand the conquest of Ireland. Henry had some time previously thought of invading that island, and he had received from Pope Adrian IV (the only Englishman who has ever been Pope) a bull, or decree, which gave him permission to subdue it.

Now the opportunity arrived. Dermot, King of Leinster, came to England for help against his enemies, and Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, who was called

“Strongbow,” returned to Ireland with him, taking an army of some two thousand men.

After he had restored Dermot to his throne and conquered his enemies, Strongbow married the heiress to the throne of Leinster, and built up a strong power in the south of Ireland.

Henry now bethought him of the papal bull that was already in his hands, and, crossing to Ireland in 1171, he was proclaimed king over the country, and received the homage of Strongbow and of the native Irish kings. But it was only a very small district lying round Dublin, known as the English Pale, that really obeyed the King of England. Over the rest of the island his supremacy was very unreal till the days of the Tudors.

Henry's later years were embittered by the rebellions of his four sons. The eldest, Henry, in 1173 headed a great rising of discontented nobles in Brittany, Anjou, and Poitou, as well as in England. The king however,

showed his strength by the way in which he crushed, one after another, all the nobles and re-established his authority. In 1183 Prince Henry and his brother Geoffrey again took arms against their father, aided by the King of France, but the rebellion ended with the deaths of both the princes within three years: one fell in a tournament the other died of a fever. The third rebellion of his two surviving sons was however, too much for the king. The ingratitude of Richard now his heir, and John the youngest and best loved of all, broke his heart, and he died in 1189.

The moment that he was crowned the new king, Richard began to collect money to go on a Crusade to the Holy Land where Jerusalem had just fallen into the hands of the great Sultan ^{Richard I.} ¹¹⁸⁹⁻¹¹⁹⁹ Saladin, and the Christian kingdom in Palestine was in danger of perishing. He was justly called Richard of the Lion's heart (*Cœur de Lion*) for his bravery and love of fighting, but his doings in the East showed him to be also a very capable general. Under his leading the island of Cyprus was conquered, the towns of Acre and Ascalon captured and Saladin defeated at Arsouf. But quarrels among themselves distracted the Crusaders from their fighting, and Jerusalem was not recovered. The French king Philip Augustus who had also gone on the Crusade, fell out with Richard, and returned to France soon after the beginning of the campaign. Fearing that this enemy might do him harm in his absence Richard made peace with Saladin and travelled home in haste. But as he passed through Germany in disguise he fell into the hands of another of his foes, Leopold Duke of Austria, who cast him into prison. For more than a year he was in captivity, and no one in England knew what

had become of him. At last the Emperor Henry VI, to whom Leopold had sold his prisoner, offered to release Richard if the English would pay a large ransom.

The country had been in a disturbed state during the king's absence. William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, who had been left in charge of the realm, was so unjust and violent that a rising of the people deposed him, and then John, the king's younger brother, tried to seize the throne for himself, getting help from the King of France.

Nevertheless, the huge ransom for their king was raised without hesitation by the English, who longed for Richard's return to put an end to the troubles of the country. He came home, and soon restored order. John fled to France, but was before long pardoned by his brother. Appointing new officials to take charge of the kingdom, Richard hastened to France to fight his other enemy, Philip Augustus. He never returned to England, and in 1199 met his death by a cross-bow bolt while besieging the castle of Chalus. Though a good soldier, he had been anything but a good king, he was so constantly absent at the wars that during his reign of ten years he spent less than a twelvemonth on this side of the Channel. His continental dominions interested him far more than England, whose needs he systematically neglected.

There were now two claimants to the crown, John, Richard's turbulent brother, and his nephew, Arthur of Brittany, the young son of John's older brother Geoffrey.

The English Great Council chose John, because they considered a boy of twelve too young for the throne. But the French provinces belonging to the Angevin house were inclined to support Arthur, and the King

John,
1199-1216

of France, Philip Augustus, also took his side, so the war between England and France, begun by Richard, went on. But ere long the young prince Arthur was taken prisoner by his uncle, and was first kept in captivity for some months, and then murdered in the castle of Rouen. The news of this crime turned the hearts of all his subjects from John, and his French provinces declared that they would no longer be under his rule, and transferred their allegiance to the King of France. Philip thus became master, after very little fighting, of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and part of Aquitaine, so that of all the great possessions over the sea, which had belonged to the King of England, nothing remained save the port of Bordeaux and the duchy of Guienne (1204-1205).

After the loss of his lands beyond the seas John only grew more reckless and oppressive to his subjects, and more inclined to quarrel with every possible enemy. He plunged ere long into a strife with the Pope, over the appointment of an Archbishop of Canterbury. The monks of Canterbury had chosen their sub-prior for the vacant office, but the king was angry that they should have done so without his leave, and ordered a fresh election, naming the Bishop of Norwich, a favourite of his own, to fill the place.

The Pope, Innocent III., however, declined to have either of them as archbishop, and appointed to the see Stephen Langton, a learned English cardinal at Rome. John refused to receive him, on which Innocent laid an interdict on the kingdom of England—that is to say, he ordered that the churches should be closed, and that all religious services should cease—not even baptisms nor burials could take place. The English people were made very miserable by this, but the wicked king only

became more enraged against the clergy, and seized their money and their lands. The Pope now declared that he would depose John from being king, and give the crown of England to his enemy, Philip of France, who began to gather together an army to invade England. John was at last frightened into submission, and suddenly gave in to all the Pope's demands. He even did homage to Innocent, and yielded up his crown in order to receive it again as a gift from the Pope, much to the disgust of his subjects.

War with France was now renewed, but without any success for John, and many of the English nobles refused to follow him to the Continent. When he returned to England in 1214 he wished to punish all those who had not joined his army, but now the barons drew together to resist the tyrant. Guided by the new Archbishop of Canterbury—who turned out a wise and patriotic prelate, and no mere tool of the Pope—the nobles demanded that the king should grant a charter of liberties to the country.

At the famous meeting at Runnymede, near Windsor (June 15, 1215), John was obliged to swear to grant all the provisions of the "Great Charter" (*Magna Carta*). The charter lays down that the English Church shall be free—that is, free from violent interference in the election of its bishops and from unlawful taxation. Further, that there is to be no taxation without the consent of the Great Council.¹ Also that no man can be imprisoned or punished by the king's command alone, but only after

¹ The "Great Council" included at this time only the barons and bishops. The smaller landholders were nominally included, but practically did not come. It is only in the next reign that the modern Parliament began to take shape, by the appearance first of knights to represent the counties, and afterwards of members for the towns.

a trial before a jury of his own equals. There are many other things in the charter, which was meant first of all to put a stop to the evil doings of King John, but also to be a solemn agreement between the king, the barons, the Church, and the people, that each should respect the rights of the other. It ensures the rights of the small man against the great, no less than those of the great man against the king.

John, however, never meant to keep his promises. He sent to the Pope asking to be released from the oath he had sworn to the nation. Innocent released him, and blamed Archbishop Langton for his conduct in siding with the people against the king. On this the barons openly rebelled against John, and civil war broke out. They declared him deposed, and some of them chose as king, Lewis, son of Philip of France, who came over to London to head his party.

King John gathered a great army of foreign mercenaries and started to march south from Lincoln, but fell ill on the way, and died at Newaik (1216), to the great relief of his country, for he was so cruel, faithless, and wicked that no one could regret his death.

The young son of John, who was only nine years old, was now crowned king as Henry III, and William the Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, who ^{Henry III, 1216-1272} had charge of him, caused him to declare that he would observe the conditions of the Great Charter.

The French prince, Lewis, soon saw that his chance of obtaining the English crown was gone. The unpopularity of the late king had been the sole cause of his first successes, and after his army had been defeated at Lincoln and his navy in the English Channel, he went back to France. After peace had been secured, William of Pembroke acted as regent for three years,

until his death, and then Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar, governed for the young king till he came of age.

Henry was a well-meaning but weak man, who could never keep a promise or carry through a tedious piece of work. He had many foreign favourites and relatives, to whom he gave away great sums of money, as well as baronies, earldoms, and bishoprics, to the great discontent of his English subjects. When Hubert de Burgh ventured to oppose the king's foolish actions, Henry dismissed him from his office, and would have imprisoned him but for the anger of the people. The next minister chosen by Henry was a Frenchman Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, who governed so cruelly and unjustly that the Great Council insisted on the king's sending him away. After this, Henry resolved to rule by himself, without any prime minister, and for twenty-four years he did so, getting deeper and deeper into difficulties as time went on.

New troubles arose through the actions of the Pope, who, being engaged in wars in Italy, sent to demand great sums of money from the English clergy, which roused much indignation in the country. Later, the Pope offered to give the crown of Sicily to Henry's younger son, Edmund, if the king, his father, would conquer the island. But the Great Council refused to grant any money for this enterprise, and being tired of the king's foolish actions, they determined that he should not be allowed to govern any longer by himself.

The barons and clergy had now found a leader in Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who, although half a foreigner by birth, had taken up the cause of the country against the king's bad government. He was so just and upright a man that he was known as Earl Simon the Righteous.

The Great Council, or "Parliament," as it was beginning to be called, met at Oxford (1258) and determined on certain conditions, "the Provisions of Oxford," by which the government should be taken from the king and committed to three councils. Henry, however, three years later, said that he would not be bound by these Provisions, and persuaded the barons to ask the King of France, Lewis IX—a wise and pious man, though one wholly unacquainted with English politics—to be judge in the matter. But when Lewis declared that Henry was bound to observe the Great Charter, but not bound to keep the Provisions of Oxford, the barons refused to accept the decision, and took up arms under Simon de Montfort.

At the battle of Lewes (1264), Montfort was victorious and the king was taken prisoner, his eldest son, Edward, giving himself up next day to share his father's captivity. For two years Earl Simon governed England. He summoned a Parliament in 1265, which consisted not only of the barons and bishops, like former Parliaments, but had also two knights from each shire and two citizens from each large city and borough of the kingdom, so that every class of the people should have some one to speak for them in Parliament.

Simon's rule, however, roused jealousy among his fellow-barons, while the people were grieved to see their king and prince kept prisoners. So when Prince Edward made his escape and called his party to join him, a large army took the field against Simon, and he was defeated and slain at Evesham (1265).

Under the influence of his son, King Henry now ruled more wisely, and the land gradually settled down to peace and prosperity. The last seven years of this long reign were therefore its happiest portion.

CHAPTER VII

EDWARD I. AND THE GROWTH OF THE
ENGLISH CONSTITUTION (1272-1327)

EDWARD I, although he was absent on a crusade, was proclaimed king on the day of his father's death. It was the first time that the English crown had passed on from father to son without the Great Council's meeting to choose the new ruler, and this showed how much the nation trusted King Edward. During his long reign he proved himself worthy of their confidence, for he was, perhaps, the best and greatest ruler, after King Alfred, that England has ever known. He was a wise and strong man and a fine soldier. Sometimes he was too severe in his dealings with those who opposed him, but he always meant to be just, and to carry out the motto, *Pactum serva* ("Keep faith"), which is inscribed on his tomb.

More than any of his predecessors, Edward left his mark on the English Constitution. He was a great legislator, and by his reforms strove to curb the power both of the Church and of the baronage. One of his most famous laws was that which prevented landholders from giving their estates, or leaving them by will, to the Church or to a monastery without the king's consent. This was called the Statute of "Mortmain," because it was meant to keep the land from falling into the "dead hand" of the Church, where it would no longer pay its proper amount of taxes to the crown.

King Edward caused other laws to be passed, to strengthen his rights over the baronage and to prevent

the further extension of feudalism. He reorganised the police of the realm and the military force. He carried out, too, Simon de Montfort's idea of making the Parliament really represent the nation, by summoning to its meetings not only the barons and clergy, but also the knights and citizens, who represented the shires and boroughs, "because that which touches all should be approved by all," and thus gave the great assembly its final shape.

Early in his reign Edward conquered Wales. There the native Celtic princes still survived, though only as vassals to the kings of England. Llewellyn, the Prince of Wales, refused to do homage to Edward, but when he and his followers were surrounded by an English army among the Welsh hills he was forced to submit, and Edward forgave him (1277). Five years later, however, Llewellyn and his brother David rebelled again, and this time Edward determined to put an end to the principality and make it part of his own dominions. He raised a great army, which drove the Welsh princes into the mountains, and Llewellyn himself was slain in a skirmish. His brother David, who then called himself Prince of Wales, held out for some months longer, but was at last taken, and was condemned by Parliament to be executed as a traitor (1282-83).

Conquest
of Wales

Edward did his best to make the country settle down in peace. He introduced the English system of laws, but appointed many native Welshmen as magistrates and officials. Some years later he presented his son Edward, who had been born at Carnarvon, to the Welsh chiefs as their Prince, and the title of Prince of Wales has ever since then been borne by the heir to the English crown. But it was long before the Welsh

people were really pacified, and several times later in his reign there were risings against Edward. The most important was led by Madoc, son of Llewellyn, who defeated an English army and ravaged the border, but he was at last vanquished and captured, and ended his life in prison in the Tower of London (1295).

Wales had thus been successfully annexed, but Edward did not fare so well in another and a greater scheme of annexation which he took in hand ten years later. The royal house of Scotland died out in 1290, the last member of it being a grandchild of King Alexander III, a little girl of seven. If she had lived, the Princess Margaret was to have been married to Edward, Prince of Wales, and thus the two countries, England and Scotland, would have been peacefully united in one kingdom. This was not to be, she died, and troubles followed.

The throne of Scotland was claimed by many remote descendants of the old house, and to decide between them King Edward was called in as arbitrator. He consented to act as judge between the claimants if the

War with
Scotland Scottish nobles would acknowledge the King
of England as the suzerain, or over-lord, to
whom the King of Scotland owed homage.

This they did, the claim was an old one, had often been made, and sometimes acceded to in the earlier centuries. Two Scottish nobles, John Balliol and Robert Bruce, were the only serious competitors for the crown. The court, which Edward had appointed to try the claims, decided that Balliol, who undoubtedly had the better case, should be king. He therefore did homage to Edward and was crowned.

Edward, however, intended to convert his over-lordship into a much more close and direct authority over

Scotland than his predecessors had enjoyed, ere long he encouraged Scottish nobles to appeal from Balliol's justice to the English courts of law. This was a new claim, and one that deeply offended the natural pride of the northern people. Rather than agree to this the Scottish nobles, in their indignation, forced Balliol to repudiate his oath of homage and make war on England. Edward crossed the Tweed with a great army, seizing Berwick, the frontier fortress of Scotland, and defeated the Scottish king at Dunbar. He then deposed Balliol and took possession of the kingdom of Scotland himself, appointing English governors to rule the land.

While Edward was engaged in the work of conquest in Scotland, his duchy of Guienne had been treacherously seized by Philip the Fair, King of France, and he was now forced to turn aside to reconquer it. Being in want of money he tried to raise it by taxes without asking the consent of Parliament, and this led to much trouble. The first resistance came from the clergy, who refused to pay, because the Pope, Boniface VIII, had declared that churchmen should not pay taxes to the crown from their ecclesiastical revenues. But, after the quarrel had gone on for some time, Archbishop Winchelsey made an arrangement by which the clergy should pay the money, but call it a free gift to the king, if he would promise to take no further measures against Church property.

The merchants of England, too, were angry with the king for seizing their wool—England's greatest export—and forcing them to pay a heavy fine (the *maltolt* or "evil tax" as they called it) before it could be sent over-seas. The barons also broke out in wrath at the king's exactions, and refused to go on the expedition to Guienne.

Struggle
with
Parlia-
ment.

When Edward had sailed for the Continent, Parliament met and drew up a document called the *Confirmatio Cartarum*, which repeated the articles of the Great Charter, and added that it should in future be illegal for the king to raise any tax without the consent of Parliament. This document was sent after Edward, who with some hesitation signed it, realising that if he did not do so his subjects would rebel, as they had done against his father in 1263.

The expedition against France met with little success, and Edward was soon recalled home by news of a great rising in Scotland (1297), led by William Wallace, a brave knight of Strathclyde, who had been wronged by the sheriff of Lanark.

The ministers whom Edward had left in charge of Scotland were harsh and unwise, and provoked much bitter feeling among the people. So when William Wallace took the field against these oppressive rulers he soon gathered a large body of followers, with whom he defeated the English army near Stirling. Wallace and two other nobles were appointed Wardens of Scotland in behalf of the expelled king, John Balliol. In 1298 Edward crossed the Border with a great force to suppress the rebellion, and gained a victory over Wallace at Falkirk. Wallace was forced to fly to the hills, but the struggle against the English went on for several years under John Comyn, nephew of the exiled king, who had been chosen Regent.

In 1303 Edward had made peace with France, and was able to give his mind to the subduing of Scotland. He swept over the country, crushing out resistance everywhere, and received the submission of the Regent and the Scottish barons. He set up new governors and

judges throughout the land, and, when Wallace was betrayed to him, he had him executed as a traitor (1305), thinking that with his death the resistance of Scotland would come to an end

But though he had slain this brave patriot, a new leader arose for the Scottish people in the person of Robert Bruce, a grandson of the Bruce who had claimed the crown in 1292. He began by conspiring against Edward with a few Scottish nobles, and he murdered John Comyn, the late Regent, because he would not join them. After being crowned, Robert Bruce was forced to fly before an English army which dispersed his followers, and for months the Scottish king was pursued among the Highland hills, many of his partisans being seized and put to death by Edward, who was now harsher than ever in his measures against the Scottish insurgents. Although he felt himself dying, the old king set out again for Scotland, vowing that he would make an end of the traitor Bruce, but he was struck down by illness, and died near Carlisle, making his son swear to continue the war (July 17, 1307).

The new king's first act was to break his promise to his dying parent by disbanding his army. Edward II was in character the very opposite of his father, he was foolish, idle, and weak. He took no interest in the welfare of his country, and wasted all his time with worthless favourites. The chief of these was Piers de Gaveston, a Gascon knight, to whom the king handed over all matters regarding the government of the realm. Gaveston's frivolity and extravagance made him so detested by the English barons that, to the king's great indignation, Parliament named a body of ministers, "the Lords Ordainers,"

Robert
Bruce

Piers de
Gaveston

who were to draw up a plan for reforming the abuses of the kingdom Edward, when pressed, signed the document that the Lords Ordainers presented to him, and promised to banish Gaveston But he soon declared that he did not intend to carry out the reforms, and recalled his favourite This provoked his subjects to take arms, and Gaveston fell into the hands of the Earl of Warwick, one of those barons whom he had most offended, and was put to death by him without any form of trial

Edward had systematically neglected the war with Scotland, and paid so little attention to supporting his partisans there that Bruce gradually gained ground, seizing town after town, until Stirling was the only important stronghold left in English hands At last the king was roused to act, and, gathering an army of 30,000 men, marched to relieve Stirling, which Bruce

Battle of
Bannock
burn

was besieging At Bannockburn (1314) a great battle took place, in which the English, in spite of their superior numbers were defeated with fearful slaughter Edward's bad

generalship and the reckless impetuosity of his men-at-arms helped the Scots to a well-earned victory Bruce was henceforth undisputed king north of the Tweed In 1320 the English were glad to obtain a truce, which freed the northern counties from his incursions

After the catastrophe of Bannockburn Edward's weakness and incapacity caused the government to be given over to his cousin, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who for some years practically ruled the realm But Thomas had more ambition than ability, and the king bided his time He found able supporters in two barons, father and son, named Despensers, and waited

till Lancaster grew unpopular In 1322 he seized a favourable opportunity to raise an army Having defeated Lancaster at Boroughbridge and taken him prisoner, he put him to death, together with many of his partisans

To the Despensers now was given over the government of the kingdom, and for four years the baronage and people grew daily more exasperated by the greed and arrogance of the new favourites At last the Queen, Isabella of France, a haughty and unscrupulous princess who hated the Despensers, conspired with an exiled baron, Roger Mortimer, against her husband Many discontented nobles joined them, and the two Despensers were captured and executed, while a Parliament that the queen summoned in the name of her young son deposed the king, declaring him unfit to reign, and gave the crown to the prince

Edward was imprisoned at Berkeley Castle, where the queen and Mortimer caused him to be put to death not long after (1327).

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE "HUNDRED YEARS WAR" (1327-1377)

THE young king, Edward III., was only fourteen, and the government fell into the hands of those who had set him on the throne, the Queen Isabella and her worthless favourite Mortimer acted as they pleased in all things

In 1328 the Scottish war was renewed by Robert

Bruce, who sent an expedition under James "the Black Douglas" to ravage the northern counties of England. Instead of repulsing the invaders, Mortimer induced the queen to make terms with them, and at Northampton the "Shameful Peace," as the people called it, was signed, by which England renounced all sovereignty over the Scottish realm.

Several attempts to overthrow Mortimer were now made by the barons, who were indignant at his misdoings, but they were without success. At last, in 1330, the young king, who had reached the age of eighteen, resolved to free himself from Mortimer's tyranny, and had the favourite seized and executed.

Edward now assumed the government of the realm himself, he was handsome and energetic, full of ambitions and warlike tastes, but selfish and thriftless, caring nothing for his country's good in comparison with his own personal glory.

Edward's first act was to retrieve the "Shameful Peace" by a war with Scotland. Robert Bruce was dead, and regents were ruling the country in the name of his son David, a child of five.

War with
Scotland.

Edward Balliol, son of the dead king John Balliol, appeared to claim the throne, and offered to do homage to Edward III, and rule Scotland as his vassal if he would help him. He invaded the northern realm, made himself king for a moment, and was expelled.

Edward then took a large army up to the Border, and near Berwick, at Halidon Hill, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Scots, which replaced Balliol on the throne. The pretender maintained himself there with difficulty for a short time, but was finally driven out of his kingdom and took refuge in England.

Edward's next enterprise was the beginning of the famous and unhappy "Hundred Years' War" with France (1337), which he started by claiming to be the rightful king of that country instead of Philip of Valois, who had succeeded to the throne in 1328

Edward's mother was the sister of the last king, Charles IV., but as the peers of France had ruled that by *Salic Law*—an old custom ascribed to the Franks—a woman cannot reign in France, nor can any man claim the throne through his mother, the crown of France had passed to the Count of Valois, son of the last king's uncle, who took the title of Philip VI

In the third year of the war Edward won a great naval victory over the French fleet in the Flemish harbour of Sluys (1340),—a famous fight from which dates England's first predominance at sea Six years later he invaded France, and gained a great battle at Crécy, in Ponthieu, where the English archers first made themselves a name in history Hitherto the mailed chivalry of France had been considered the best troops in Europe, but when King Philip's knights rode against the front line of the English army, where Edward's son of fifteen, the Black Prince was commanding, they were mown down, squadron after squadron, by the bowmen, who shot so strongly and so fast that the enemy only succeeded in a very few points in getting near the English line at all. After this Edward marched on Calais, which he took after a siege of nearly a year He drove out of the town all who would not acknowledge him as king, and peopled it with Englishmen Calais thus became an English stronghold, and an open gate for future invasions of France This was a year of triumph in many quarters, for when David

Bruce, who had become king after Balliol's final expulsion, invaded England while Edward was absent, the queen, Philippa of Hainault, raised an army against the Scots, who were defeated at Neville's Cross. King David was taken prisoner, with many of his nobles, and remained in captivity in London for many years (1346).

The war would have been continued next year, for the English people were eager for more military glory after the victory of Crécy, but a dreadful disaster befell the land. A great plague, "the Black Death," came sweeping over Europe from the East, and it is calculated that half the population of England died of this awful pestilence. Contemporary documents show that in small villages of 300 or 400 inhabitants thirty or forty families were swept away, leaving no survivor whatever. There were monasteries in which every soul, from the prior to the youngest novice, died, leaving the house entirely desolate. Three Archbishops of Canterbury died within a twelvemonth, and in many parishes, likewise, we find three or four incumbents succeeding at a few weeks' interval. France and Italy suffered no less than did England (1348-49).

This awful mortality completely disorganised the country. In no sphere was this more felt than in agriculture. There were now much fewer labourers to work on the land, and they were therefore able to demand higher wages. This drove the Parliament into passing the foolish "Statute of Labourers" (1349), which tried to prevent the men from asking or the employers from giving more money than they used to give before the Plague. This, of course, led to incessant quarrels and litigation, but could not be enforced in the face of stern necessity.

The Black
Death.

Statute of
Labourers

It was six years before the English and French had the heart to resume their useless and expensive war. But in 1355, after John, the new King of France, had refused a reasonable offer of peace made by Edward, the struggle recommenced

Battle of
Poitiers.

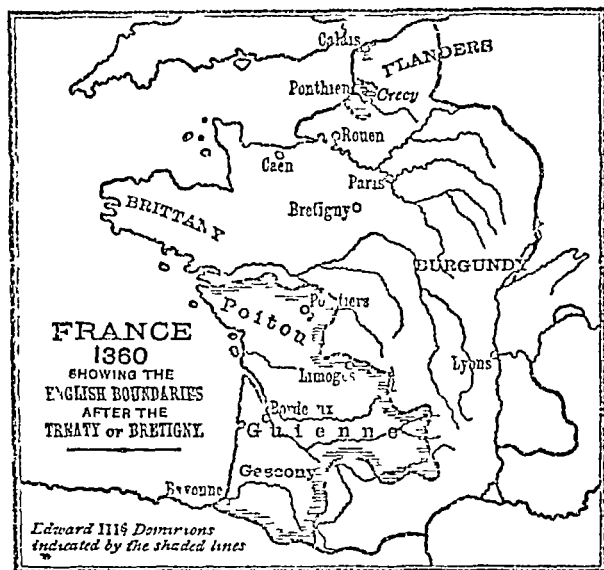
In its second year, the Black Prince, now a young man of twenty-five, led an expedition into Central France, and fought a great battle at Poitiers, where the French army, though very superior in numbers, was defeated, and King John himself made prisoner (1356). The Black Prince brought the captive king to England, and negotiations for peace were opened with the regency who ruled France in his absence. But absolute anarchy now raged in that unhappy realm. The people of Paris rebelled against the regency, and in Central France the peasants broke out into revolt, burning castles and destroying towns, so that when Edward again invaded France he found the country in the greatest misery and the government ready to conclude any terms of peace. The Treaty of Bretigny was made (1360), by which King John was ransomed for a large sum of money, and Edward received the whole duchy of Aquitaine that Henry II had held south of the Loire, as an independent realm, owing no homage to the French king. Over this great duchy he made his son, the Black Prince, ruler. In return Edward gave up his claim to the throne of France.

Peace with Scotland was made at the same time, King David being released from captivity for a large ransom, and giving up the fortresses of Berwick and Roxburgh to England.

Edward's fortune was now at its highest, and his people looked forward to many years of peace and prosperity. The commerce and manufactures of the

country were becoming important, and the reign of Edward III is remembered for the development of the weaving industry, for his queen, Philippa of Hainault, induced many Flemish weavers from her own country to settle in eastern England

But the Treaty of Bretigny failed to bring about a



lasting peace between England and France. Edward had exacted too hard terms from the vanquished enemy. The ransom for King John was so enormous that it could never be paid, and he, having a chivalrous sense of honour, returned to England in 1364 and gave himself up once more as a prisoner, in default of payment. He died shortly after. Meanwhile, the newly annexed provinces in Aquitaine, which bitterly regretted their separation from France, were seething with discontent,

and only awaiting their chance to rebel. Charles V, the new King of France, was also ready to resume the war as soon as it might be safe and prudent.

He got his opportunity when the Black Prince engaged in an unwise campaign in Spain. Renewal
of War

He had been induced by Pedro the Cruel, the exiled King of Castile, to lend him aid against his usurping brother, Henry of Trastámara. When Edward crossed the Pyrenees he found himself opposed, not only by the Castilians, but by a great host of French mercenaries under Bertrand du Guesclin, the most famous soldier of fortune of the day. However, he beat both Spaniards and French at Navarette (1367), and restored his unworthy ally, Pedro, to his throne. The tyrant showed no gratitude, cheated Edward out of the pay of his army, and finally broke with him, so that the prince returned to Aquitaine penniless, foiled, and oppressed with an intermittent fever which shattered his health for ever. When he tried to pay his debts by raising new taxes in his duchy, the barons and people of the lately annexed regions rose in rebellion and Charles V. immediately declared war and sent his armies to aid the rebels.

The new stage of the Hundred Years' War was altogether disastrous to the English. The Black Prince had become a helpless invalid, and could not supply the place of his father, who was now in dire need of a capable helper. Though not yet an aged man, Edward III. was rapidly losing the strength of both body and mind. After the death of his excellent wife Queen Philippa (1369) and the permanent disablement of his son, he fell into the hands of unscrupulous favourites and courtiers, and the last seven years of his reign were noted for disasters abroad and misgovernment at home.

His third son, John of Gaunt, who now tried to carry on the war against the French, was a poor general, and so unsuccessful, that before King Edward's death all his possessions over seas were lost except Bordeaux, a part of Gascony, and the important fortress of Calais.

At this time a movement in the English Church was led by a learned priest, John Wycliffe, who has been called "The Morning Star of the Reformation," because he first suggested changes in the doctrine and practice of the Church, which were afterwards carried out in the great Reformation of the sixteenth century. He protested against the Pope's perpetual interference with the English Church, and his incessant demands for English money. He rebuked the bishops who neglected their sees in order to become politicians and ministers of state, and the priests and monks who lived idle and useless lives. He translated the Bible into English, called in question the worship of saints, the necessity for pilgrimages and penances, the utility of the monasteries, and many other things dear to the Churchmen of his age. He sent out a number of his disciples, whom he called the "poor priests," to teach his doctrine to the people at large, and won much support, especially from the middle classes of the towns.

Religious and political discontent were both rife in the last years of Edward III, and in 1376 the "Good Parliament" was provoked into banishing the king's favourites, and insisting on a reform of the government. The king resisted, and in the next year replaced his son, John of Gaunt, in power, and cancelled all the acts of 1376, but just as things seemed tending to open civil strife he expired (June 21, 1377). As the Black Prince, a worn-out invalid for

the last seven years, had died a few months before him, the crown fell to his grandson, the younger Edward's only surviving child, a young boy of ten, who was crowned under the name of Richard II

CHAPTER IX

RICHARD II. AND THE PEASANTS' REVOLT (1377-1399)

Soon after the accession of Richard II, at the age of ten, to the English throne, Charles VI, a boy of twelve, became King of France, and the war between the two countries was carried on by a regency on both sides. John of Gaunt continued to direct the policy of England, and to mismanage affairs as he had done in the previous reign. The government, therefore, grew daily more unpopular, and when demands for heavy taxation were made to keep up the disastrous struggle, the anger of the people made them revolt openly.

Ever since the Black Death a bitter feeling had existed between the landowners and the peasantry, which the Statute of Labourers (see p 42) had increased, for the employers of labour wished to keep to the scale of wages fixed by it, while the labourers thought themselves under-paid. At last a newly-invented impost, a poll-tax of one shilling, which had to be paid by every grown man and woman, roused the greatest indignation, and in 1381 a rising broke out in the whole of Eastern England. It was called Wat Tyler's Rebellion, from Walter the Tyler of Maidstone, who led the

48 RICHARD II AND PEASANTS' REVOLT

peasants of Kent They marched on London, together with the men of Essex Entering the capital they sacked John of Gaunt's great palace, "the Savoy," and began to put to death all unpopular persons While the regency was hesitating what to do, the young king, though only fourteen years of age, rode out himself to meet the rioters at Mile End, and, after hearing their petitions, declared that they contained nothing impossible, and that he would see that they should be granted

But while Richard was meeting one body of the insurgents, another band of them, headed by Tyler himself, who did not wish to see things quietly settled by concession, had burst into the Tower of London and murdered Simon of Sudbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as the High Treasurer, and several other persons The next day the king very gallantly undertook to meet Wat Tyler and his turbulent followers at Smithfield There a stirring scene took place. The insurgent chief showed himself so insolent and made such demands that the Mayor of London, Walworth, angry at his violent speeches, drew his sword and stabbed the rebel The insurgents at once bent their bows to avenge their captain's death, but Richard rode forward among them, promising that he would now take Tyler's place as their leader and see that all their just demands were granted Charters freeing the peasantry from feudal dues and abolishing serfdom were drawn up on the spot, which satisfied the insurgents, and they dispersed to their own homes

But when the nobles and their retainers came flocking up to London in force, they refused to allow Richard's charter to be carried out, and caused the leaders of the revolt, one by one, to be seized and

hanged. Still the rising had not quite failed in its object, for both the landlords and the government had received such a lesson that for the future they were less harsh in enforcing their claims, and thus the condition of the peasants was better than before.

Four years later King Richard, at the age of eighteen, endeavoured to take the government into his own hands, and chose himself new advisers, of whom the chief were Michael de la Pole and Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. But they were not given a fair chance. The king's youngest uncle, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, was an ambitious and jealous man, who aimed at ruling the realm. He resolved to turn to account the unpopularity of the ministers whom Richard had put in power. So he gathered a party of nobles, among whom there was Henry of Lancaster, Gaunt's eldest son, Lords they called themselves the "Lords Appel- Appellant lant," because they appealed against the king's ministers, and marched on London. Richard's chosen friends were exiled, and the Lords Appellant took the conduct of affairs into their own hands. In 1389, however, Richard again asserted himself, and taking as his counsellor the good Bishop, William of Wykeham, he ruled with wisdom and moderation for eight years.

But he was only waiting till he felt himself strong enough to be revenged on the Lords Appellant. In 1397 he fell upon them one after the other, executing or banishing them all. Even his own uncle, Thomas of Gloucester, was put to death. After this he believed there was no one in the kingdom who could oppose him, and he began to govern in a tyrannical manner. One of his actions was to seize the broad lands of his uncle, John of Gaunt, when he died, refusing leave to his heir, Henry of Lancaster (who had been one of

the Lords Appellant, and was now in exile), to take possession of his father's title or estates

The king's arbitrary acts and open contempt for the laws roused great indignation in England, and when, in 1399, the exiled prince landed in Yorkshire, pretending that he had come back only to claim his father's heritage, he found many followers. Henry of Lancaster Richard, unfortunately for himself, was at this moment absent on an expedition in Ireland. His partisans, left without a leader, were easily dispersed, and when he returned he was seized by the invader's adherents, and brought to London, where he was forced to abdicate. Thereupon Henry of Lancaster was elected king by Parliament, although a nearer heir to the throne existed. This was Edmund Earl of March, who was a grandson of Edward III's *second* son, the Duke of Clarence, whereas Lancaster was the son of Edward III's *third* son. (See table on p 57) But March was a young boy and unable to defend his rights, he gave no trouble to the usurper.

Richard was cast into prison and never heard of again. It would seem that he died of neglect and starvation, when his successor thought that the moment had come at which he might safely be put out of the way.

CHAPTER X

THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER AND THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR (1399-1453)

HENRY of Lancaster proved strong enough to defend the crown which he had usurped, and to pass it on to his descendants. But his reign was one of constant

turmoil and civil strife. Before he had been two months on the throne the partisans of Richard took arms, hoping to rescue and restore their old master. But Henry was not caught unawares, the rising was crushed in a few days, and the leaders were either slain in the fighting or captured and beheaded. To prevent any further insurrection of the kind, the king ordered Richard's body to be brought to London, to show his friends that he was really dead. But many ^{The} refused to be convinced even by this proof. ^{Welsh} Ere long a serious rebellion broke out in ^{Rebellion.} Wales, led by Owen Glendower, a descendant of the old princes of that land. He declared that Richard still lived, and waged war in his name, though he was really bent on restoring the national independence of Wales. He was a wily and obstinate rebel. For more than ten years Henry IV. and his son and heir, Prince Henry, led expeditions against him, and chased him among his native mountains, but they never succeeded in putting him down.

Having been made king by the Parliament, Henry was bound to do what the Parliament wished, he had to listen to much unpalatable advice, and to submit to seeing his will disregarded and his expenses controlled. More than any of his predecessors he was a "constitutional monarch," though it was quite contrary to his own desires. Nor was it only Parliament that had to be conciliated. Henry also tried to gain the favour of the Church, by starting a cruel persecution of the Lollards, or followers of Wycliffe. The statute *De Heretico Comburendo* ("for the Burning of Heretics") was passed, and for the first time England saw men perish at the stake for refusing to give up their religious belief.

Other rebellions against the new dynasty were made by the turbulent family of the Percies, Earls of Northumberland, the greatest barons of the north. The king crushed the first at Shrewsbury Field (1403), where Harry Percy, "Hotspur," the terror of the Scottish border, was slain. Two years later, the old earl, his father, though he had been pardoned for his first offence, stirred up a second rising. The allies on whom he had counted, Scrope, Archbishop of York, and Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, were treacherously seized and executed (1405), while old Percy himself finally perished at the battle of Bramham Moor (1407).

This ended the English civil wars, but Glendower's rebellion still continued, and the French often made piratical descents by sea. The Parliament was captious and discontented, and the burden of the crown sat heavily on Henry's brow. For the latter years of his reign he suffered from a lingering disease, and was unable to carry on the government of the realm, which was managed for him by his son, Henry, Prince of Wales, who thus learned the art of ruling long ere he succeeded to the throne on the death of his father (1413).

With the accession of Henry of Monmouth, England obtained a young, eager, and valiant king, who was anxious to emulate the exploits of Edward III, and to win back the lost provinces of France. Henry was in many ways a model prince, he was just, sincerely religious, courteous, and conscientious, but his piety led him to persecute the unhappy Lollards even more bitterly than his father had done, and his conscientiousness did not prevent him from reviving the iniquitous claim to the crown of France, which had already cost

so much blood. He saw his opportunity in the disordered state of the realm across the channel, where the king, Charles VI, had gone mad, and rival parties among the princes were engaged in a desperate civil war.

Landing in Normandy, Henry laid siege to Harfleur. After taking that seaport with a heavy loss of men—owing to a pestilence that broke out in his camp—he marched with the small remnant of his army, amounting to no more than 6000 men, across northern France, in order to reach Calais. At Agincourt (1415)

he found his way barred by a vast host of the French under the Constable d'Albret, but won

War with
France

a complete victory over them. Like Crecy, it was a fight won by the English long-bow, the archers, drawn up in a thin line behind ploughed fields sodden with rain, shot down the French men-at-arms as they lurched slowly forward in their heavy armour across the miry sloughs. When the ponderous advance had been brought to a standstill, Henry gave the order to charge, and broke to pieces these heavy columns by a sudden fiery assault. Half the French nobility perished on the field.

Returning victorious to England, Henry was received with great enthusiasm by his people. He sailed back with reinforcements to resume his invasion, and another campaign in 1417 accomplished the conquest of Normandy.

The troubled state of France now served to aid Henry's ambition. The Queen Isabella and the Duke of Burgundy both hated the heir to the French throne—the Dauphin Charles—

Treaty of
Troyes

and they allied themselves to the English. By the Treaty of Troyes (1420) Henry received from the queen

her daughter, the Princess Catherine, as his wife with the promise that on the death of the mad king Charles VI, Henry and Catherine should succeed to the throne of France instead of the Dauphin. The whole of northern France now acknowledged Henry as master, and he took possession of Paris, having reached such a pitch of success in war as no English king had ever attained before.

But to the grief and dismay of his country and of his French partisans, Henry's health began to give way. He spent a trying winter (1421-22) besieging Meaux in order to retrieve a defeat which the English army had suffered in his absence the year before, and from exposure or camp fever he was so weakened that he died at Vincennes in 1422, before he had attained his thirty-fifth year.

England had never yet had a king of such tender age as the infant son of Henry V who now succeeded to the throne less than a year old. He had, however, an able guardian in his uncle, John Duke of Bedford, who was appointed by the late king's will governor of France, while another of the little king's uncles Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester became regent of England.

On the death of his grandfather the mad King Charles of France, Henry VI was proclaimed king in Paris. His uncle, the Dauphin Charles also assumed the title of King of France, and was acknowledged as such by all the lands south of the Loire. But he was an indolent, frivolous young man, who did nothing to oppose the progress of the English armies in France, which went on gaining victories and subduing the land as they had done under Henry V.

But the tide turned at last. While the English were besieging Orleans, a new leader arose for the despairing

French people in the person of Jeanne Darc, the "Maid of Orleans." She was a simple peasant girl, who from her youth up had dreams and visions in which she saw the saints appear to her. When she ^{Joan of Arc} was eighteen she became possessed of the belief that St Michael and St Catherine had ordered her to go to the Dauphin Charles and bid him place her at the head of his armies. Charles was little disposed to believe in her mission, but she was allowed to go, clothed in knightly armour, with a white banner before her, to Orleans. From this moment success was with the French. They believed that Heaven had come to their aid, while the English, on the other hand, were convinced that Jeanne was a witch, and that the powers of evil fought with her.

The English army had to retire from Orleans, and fortress after fortress was taken from them by the Maid. The Dauphin was crowned king as Charles VII at Rheims, and Jeanne then thought her task was done and wished to retire to her father's house. But the French soldiers believed that her presence brought them good fortune, and would not let her go. After some further successes, however, the Maid was captured in a skirmish by the Burgundians, who handed her over to the English.

For many months she was kept in prison, and finally, to the disgrace of the Regent Bedford, who had in all other matters shown himself a just man, she was condemned to death as a witch by a tribunal of French clergy, and burnt alive at Rouen. The vengeance of Heaven seemed to follow this cruel deed. The English possessions in France were now lost one after another, and when the Burgundians broke off their alliance with England, and the Regent Bedford died, the war became

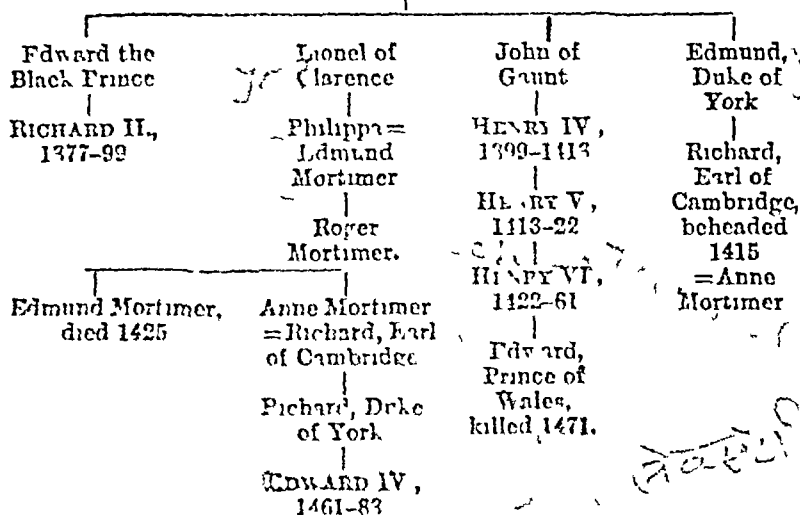
utterly hopeless Paris was lost in 1437, and at last, in 1444, a truce was patched up, Henry VI receiving a kinswoman of the King of France, Margaret of Anjou, as his wife, and giving up everything save Calais, Normandy, and Guienne

The truce, however, was broken by the treachery of the Duke of Somerset, and ere long the whole of Normandy lost by the English, after the disastrous battle of Formigny (1450)

In waging this weary war England had no help from her sovereign Henry VI was frail and feeble both in mind and body, and quite unfit to rule his country in this troubled time He was pious and learned, and would have made an admirable monk, but as king he was a failure His uncle, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and great-uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, were always quarrelling over the government of the realm After they died, Richard, Duke of York, the descendant of the Mortimers, and the true heir of Richard II, was the king's nearest relative He was an ambitious man, who had his eye on the crown, and wooed popularity as leader of the people against the king's incapable ministers, who had mis-
 managed the French war An insurrection
 of the men of Kent and Sussex, called
 "Jack Cade's Rebellion," was believed to be
 favoured by York, and though it was dispersed and
 accomplished nothing, the feeling of the country was
 with Duke Richard when he now came forward to
 accuse the king's ministers, Suffolk and Somerset, of
 misgovernment, and of losing the French provinces For
 in 1453 Guienne had gone the same way as Nor-
 mandy, and of the English possessions over sea all
 were lost save Calais and the Channel Islands.

THE CLAIMS OF YORK AND LANCASTER

EDWARD III, 1327-77



CHAPTER XI

THE WARS OF THE ROSES (1453-1485)

THE king, who inherited a tendency to madness from his grandfather, Charles VI of France, went out of his mind in 1453, and, for eighteen months, York, as first prince of the blood, was made Protector or Regent of the realm. When the king recovered his reason he dismissed York, and appointed Somerset minister—once more. This step roused the Duke of York to violence. He was now no longer heir to the throne, for a son, Prince Edward had just been born to Henry. But York was the man to whom the country looked for help against

the king's unpopular ministers, and he was followed by a large party of the great nobles of the land. Civil strife

now broke out, which is known as the "Wars

Wars of of the Roses," because the badge of the party

of York was a white rose, while the king's

party, the Lancastrians, adopted at a later time the red

rose. The north and west, with Wales, supported the

royal cause, while London, the south, and the east

were zealous for the duke. The majority of the lesser

peers held with Henry, but the two greatest noble

houses, the Mowbrays of Norfolk and the Nevilles of

Salisbury and Warwick, were staunch Yorkists.

At St Albans the first battle was won for York by

Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, in which the king

was taken prisoner, and Somerset, his minister, who was

the cause of all the trouble, was slain. The duke now

ruled for some months, but ere long war again broke

out, the queen, Margaret of Anjou, stirring up the

king's party to fight against York, because she feared

he would prevent her infant son from succeeding to the

throne.

At Ludlow the armies met, but the Yorkists broke up

and dispersed without fighting (1459). The queen and

her friends now ruled so harshly and unwisely that the

heart of the nation turned from the king's party, and

when the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick (heads of the

great family of the Nevilles) again rose in favour of

York, they carried all before them. At Northampton

the duke's party gained a battle and took the king

prisoner, while the queen escaped to Wales (1460).

York was now appointed Regent for Henry, and it

was declared that he should succeed to the crown on

the king's death, setting aside the young Prince of

Wales. The queen was roused to fury by this dis-

inheriting of her son, and soon gathered a fresh army in the north, with which she inflicted a great defeat on her enemies at Wakefield, where York himself with many of his partisans was slain. The leadership of his party now passed to his son Edward, an able, though selfish and hard-hearted, young man of eighteen.

A second battle at St Albans was equally favourable to the Lancastrians, but they failed to go on and seize London, which the young Edward of York and the Earl of Warwick reached before them, Edward
IV and there Edward proclaimed himself king.

He then advanced on the Lancastrians, and drove them before him as far as Towton, near York, where the greatest and fiercest battle of the Wars of the Roses was fought. The queen's army was completely routed, and she, with the king and her son, fled to Scotland (Palm Sunday, 1461).

Edward then returned to London and summoned a Parliament, which acknowledged him as king. The Earl of Warwick, to whose support Edward owed his crown, was rightly called "the King-maker." He was now occupied for four years in crushing out the civil war and pacifying the realm, while the king himself led an idle life of luxury and pleasure.

Edward had secretly married Elizabeth Woodville, daughter of Lord Rivers and widow of a Lancastrian knight who had fallen at St Albans. This marriage, when it was divulged, deeply offended Warwick, and as the king proceeded to put his wife's relations into all the high offices of the state, "the King-maker" began to conspire against him with Edward's younger brother, the Duke of Clarence. They organised a rebellion in which Edward was taken prisoner and made to promise to govern in future according to Warwick's wishes.

But as soon as he was released the king raised a great army and drove Warwick out of England

"The King-maker," furious at his ingratitude, now turned to the exiled Queen Margaret of Anjou, and proposed to her to put Henry VI (who was a prisoner in London) on the throne again. This plan he carried out, for the great Earl was so much beloved in England that the people rose in all parts of the country to support him, and for a few months Henry VI was king again.

But one more change of fortune was to come, for Edward, with the aid of the Duke of Burgundy, returned to England, raised a new army, and finally defeated and slew the King-maker at **Battle of
Barnet** Barnet. A few weeks later, at Tewkesbury, he crushed the army of Queen Margaret. The queen was taken prisoner, and her son, Edward, Prince of Wales, slain (or murdered) as he fled from the field. The only survivor of the House of Lancaster was now the old king, Henry VI, and Edward had him assassinated by the hands of his younger brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester (1471). Thus ended the Wars of the Roses in the complete victory of the House of York.

After his restoration Edward reigned for twelve years, in which the country began to prosper again after the unhappy time of bloodshed that had almost put an end to the commerce and industry of the land. There were no more risings, and the realm was fairly quiet, save that in 1478 the king committed an act of great cruelty in slaying his brother, George, Duke of Clarence, whom he found intriguing treasonably with Scotland.

Edward now placed all his confidence in his youngest brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and on his death in

MURDER OF EDWARD

1483 Richard claimed the regency of the kingdom, as his nephew, the little king, Edward V., was a child. He proceeded to imprison and execute all the relations of the queen, Elizabeth Woodville, who ^{Edward V, 1483} had held so much power under Edward IV, and he persuaded the queen to give her second son, Richard of York, also into his keeping (2) *son*

The two young princes were cast into the Tower of London, while Richard, who had filled the city with an army of his own followers, prevailed on Parliament to elect him king instead of his little nephew. He was crowned with great pomp, and soon after ^{Richard III} caused the two princes to be secretly murdered in the Tower. Their bodies were found in 1674, buried under a stair in one of the turrets of the old fortress.

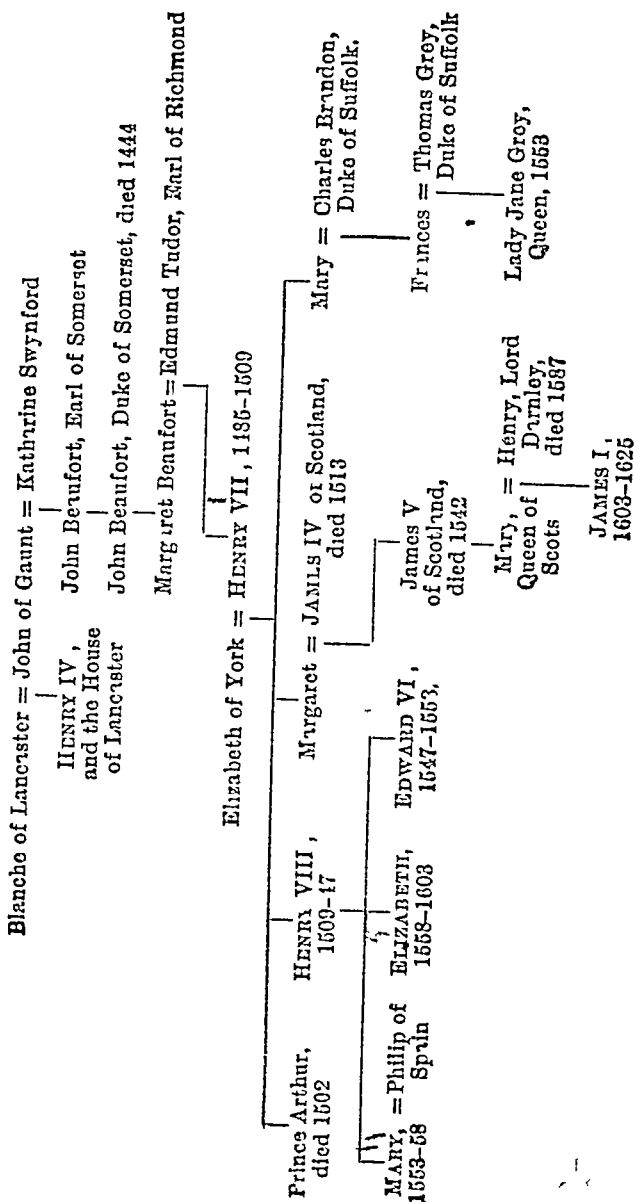
The horror which this crime aroused led to insurrections throughout the country. But Richard had untiring energy and great military talents, and he succeeded in crushing several of these risings.

Yet he could not feel secure on his throne, as the people hated and distrusted him. Soon personal misfortunes were added to his troubles, for he lost his only son, Edward, Prince of Wales, and his queen died a few months later.

The head of the Lancastrian party was Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond,¹ whose mother was the eldest descendant of John of Gaunt. He now landed in Wales to lead the enemies of Richard. At the battle of Bosworth Field Richard was defeated and slain, his own army having early dispersed and fled, for they were little inclined to fight for their cruel master (1485).

¹ His father, Edmund Tudor, was the son of Catharine of France, the widow of Henry V, by her second marriage to Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman of little note who fell in the Wars of the Roses.

TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF TUDOR



CHAPTER XII

✓ THE EARLY TUDORS (1485-1509) 1509

THE new king, Henry Tudor, married soon after his accession Elizabeth of York eldest daughter of Edward IV., and thus the rival houses were united on the throne, and the Tudor kings took as their badge a double rose, red in the centre and white around. In spite of this, two years had not gone by ere an attempt was made to overthrow the king by some of the irreconcilable Yorkists, who brought forward a young lad named Lambert Simnel, declaring that he was the Earl of Warwick, son of Clarence, Edward IV's brother, the only male heir of the house of York. But the real Warwick was pining in prison in the Tower of London. Henry VII defeated the insurgents at Stoke, near Newark. He treated the impostor Simnel with contempt, instead of slaying him, he made him a scullion in the royal kitchen.

Lambert
Simnel

Another and more important imposture was that of Perkin Warbeck, an adventurer from Tournay, who gave out that he was Richard of York, the younger of the two princes smothered in the Tower of London by Richard III.

Perkin
Warbeck

He was aided by the Duchess Margaret of Burgundy, the widowed sister of Edward IV., and by James IV., King of Scotland. He made three attempts to raise an army in England—in Kent, Yorkshire, and Cornwall—but was always unsuccessful, and finally fell into the hands of the king, who imprisoned him in the Tower. He tried to escape, however, and persuaded the young Earl of Warwick, the true heir of York, to fly with him.

They were both caught before they had gone far, and were executed.

Henry was now free from the danger of further risings, and able to give his thoughts to the government of the country. During his stern reign of twenty-four years the kingdom recovered from the effects of the Wars of the Roses. Laws were passed with the object of restoring peace and good order, and the power of the king was established over the unruly nobles. Henry

founded a tribunal, composed of members of the Privy Council, which was called the Court of the Star Chamber, because it met in a room at Westminster whose roof was decorated with a pattern of stars. This court dealt with the offences of great men, whose power and influence might have prevented their being sentenced by any ordinary court of justice. It was useful at the time, but it was quite illegal in its position, and grew to be a serious grievance in later years.

Henry, though wise and politic, was a hard and selfish man, who loved and hoarded money. In his later years he employed two ministers, Dudley and Empson, who were much hated for their shameless and successful devices for extracting money from his subjects.

The king's foreign policy was one of making alliances instead of wars. He made an advantageous treaty with the Emperor Maximilian, which provided for free trade between Flanders and England. To secure the goodwill of Spain, Henry made another alliance, with King Ferdinand of Aragon, and married his eldest son, Arthur, Prince of Wales, to Catherine of Aragon. The young prince died before he was seventeen, and the Princess Catherine was passed on to

Henry, Arthur's younger brother, a marriage which, as the future showed was a very unhappy one

An alliance with Scotland cemented by the marriage of James IV with Margaret, Henry's eldest daughter, preserved peace with that country, and Ireland too, was pacified under the rule of her most powerful baron, the Earl of Kildare, whom Henry made Lord Deputy

Henry died at the age of fifty-three, leaving a peaceful land, an obedient nobility, and a fuller treasury than any king of England had ever before possessed (1509)

The new king, who succeeded his father at the age of eighteen, was, perhaps the most remarkable prince who ever sat on the English throne. He was a strong-willed, able, passionate man, who has left his mark on the history of his country, which passed through many and great changes under his guidance. Henry VIII in the early days of his reign was very popular. He was handsome and strong, with pleasant hearty manners but he was also fond of intellectual pursuits a ripe scholar, and much interested in theology. No one yet guessed that he had in him the makings of a tyrant, and was cruel, selfish, and hard-hearted beyond any of his ancestors since King John

His first act was to execute Dudley and Empson, the ministers whom his father had employed to extort money from the people. It was an unjust thing to do, for after all they had only obeyed Henry VII's commands, but the country rejoiced at their downfall.

The moment that he was firmly seated on the throne, Henry plunged into a war with Lewis XII of France. He got small profit thereby though he won a showy victory at the celebrated "Battle of the Spurs," near Guinegate. The French war led to a Scottish war

also, for England's old enemy was induced by the French to attack her in the rear, when the king and his army were absent on the Continent. James IV made an incursion into Northumberland, but ere he had gone far

he was met by the Earl of Surrey and defeated and slain at Flodden Field, near the Tweed (1513). Scotland was disabled for many a

year by the terrible slaughter of her nobles, and during the long minority of the young James V there was quiet on the Border.

✓ In the next year Henry made peace with France, and King Lewis married his younger sister. But Lewis did not long survive, and with his cousin and successor, Francis I, the relations of England were generally hostile. At this period a long series of wars were in progress between Francis and his rival the Emperor Charles V, who, by the fortunate marriages of his father and grandfather Philip and Maximilian of Austria, had become heir to the widest empire that Europe had yet seen. He ruled over Spain, Germany, the Netherlands, and great part of Italy. Henry of England did not, like Henry's his father, hold aloof from the wars of the Foreign Continent. He was eager for military glory, Policy and also anxious to prevent either Francis or Charles from growing too strong. He pursued a wily and not over-creditable policy, allying himself first with one and then with the other of the great rivals, and throwing over each in turn when it suited him.

In 1520 he went to France to visit the king, and so great was the pomp and display of both sovereigns that the meeting-place, near Calais, was called "the Field of the Cloth of Gold". Yet within a month he concluded a secret alliance with Charles against the King

of France! This idea of preserving the "balance of power" in Europe was suggested by Henry's able minister, Cardinal Wolsey—a self-made man, the son of a butcher of Ipswich—who for twenty years was second to the king in England, and ruled for him in all things. Wolsey's own ambition was to become Pope, and he looked to Charles V for help to attain that position, but though the Emperor often promised to aid him he never did so. Wolsey had great schemes for Church reform, which was becoming a very urgent question to all thinking people in Europe. There was widespread discontent against the clergy, which was justified by the evil doings and neglect of their spiritual duties that characterised even the highest officials of the Church no less than the clergy and monks. Several of the Popes of the period had been men of infamous life, and the rest were mere Italian politicians. This lamentable state of the Church led to an open rebellion on the Continent. The revival of arts and learning which is called the Renaissance, was now at its height, and the multiplication of books, owing to the discovery of printing, placed the means of knowledge in every man's hands, so that the laymen could study for themselves, and were no longer dependent upon the clergy, as they had been throughout the Middle Ages.

Church
Reform.

✓ CHAPTER XIII

HENRY VIII. AND THE REFORMATION

IN 1517 Martin Luther, a German friar, had first given voice to the general discontent by opposing the im-

moral practice of selling "indulgences," or papal letters remitting penances for sins in return for money. The

Martin Luther Pope, Leo X, replied by excommunicating him, on which he attacked the whole system of the mediæval Church—the Pope's spiritual supremacy, prayers to the saints, the celibacy of the clergy, the monastic life, and many other matters. He was supported by his prince, Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and a great part of Germany at once declared in his favour.

England was not at first much affected by this revolt of Germany against the papacy. Wolsey devoted himself to practical reforms, leaving doctrine alone. It was not till 1527 that England began to be drawn into the struggle, and the cause of quarrel was not any doctrinal dispute, but the king's desire to procure from the Pope a divorce from his wife, Catherine of Aragon. Henry declared that his marriage with Catherine was illegal because she had been his brother Arthur's wife. They had now only one child living, a daughter named Mary, and Henry was very anxious to have a son to inherit the throne. He had also set his heart on marrying Anne Boleyn, one of the ladies at the Court.

Pope Clement VII, however, did not dare to grant a divorce, for Catherine was the aunt of Charles V, and the Emperor's troops had lately taken and sacked Rome, so that the Pope was at the mercy of Charles, who was resolved that Catherine should not be divorced. The Pope appointed two cardinals, **Fall of Wolsey** Wolsey and Campeggio, to investigate the question. When the cardinals failed to pronounce at once in his favour, Henry laid the blame on Wolsey, and disgraced his great minister, who died in

1530, broken-hearted at the ingratitude of the master whom he had served so faithfully

The king now took new counsellors, Thomas Cromwell, a clever adventurer whom Wolsey had brought to court, and Thomas Cranmer, one of the royal chaplains, whom Henry appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. He caused Cranmer to try the question of the divorce in an English ecclesiastical court, without any further application to Rome. Cranmer, as might have been expected, pronounced that the marriage had been contrary to the law of God, and that the king was free to wed again. Henry at once married Anne Boleyn, and the unhappy Catherine retired into privacy at Kimbolton, where she survived nearly three years.

The Pope at once pronounced the king's new marriage illegal, on which Henry ordered all his subjects to take an oath that they would no longer obey the Pope, and caused Parliament to pass the "Act of Supremacy," which declared the king himself to be supreme head of the Church of England. Any one who denied him this title was found guilty of treason, and two worthy persons, Sir Thomas More, the Chancellor, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, were executed under this law (1535).

Pope Paul III now caused a bull to be drawn up, which pronounced King Henry excommunicated, and declared that he was deposed from his throne. There was now open war between the king and the Papacy, and during the last twelve years of his life Henry spent his energies in severing every link that bound England to Rome. His first action was taken against the monasteries (1536). During Wolsey's time several of the

smaller religious houses had been suppressed, because the monks were no longer doing good, but only leading a life of idleness and luxury. The king, now appointed commissioners to go and visit all the monasteries in England, of which there were more than six hundred. The result of their report, which was as unfavourable as the king could desire, was that Parliament decreed the suppression of all the lesser monasteries, whose wealth passed to the Crown. This was what Henry wanted, for he had long ago exhausted all his father's hoard of money, and was always trying to raise more, which he often did by compelling his subjects to give him "benevolences," or forced loans.

The quarrel with the Pope had not been popular in the north of England, and when the monasteries were attacked there was a great revolt in the northern counties. The insurgents assembled and prepared to march on London, calling their expedition "the Pilgrimage of Grace," because they wished to go to the king and persuade him to grant their requests. The Duke of Norfolk was sent to meet them, and he prevailed on them to disperse, promising that the king would give favourable consideration to their demands. But as soon as Henry could get an army together he marched on Yorkshire. Then, as some of the rebels again took arms, he declared that they had forfeited his mercy, and arrested and executed all the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace, including the abbots of most of the great monastic establishments of the north. The king was growing every day more reckless in bloodshedding. Not long after, he beheaded two descendants of the royal house of York—Courtenay, Marquis of

Suppres
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Pilgrim
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Grace,
1537

Exeter, and Henry Pole, Lord Montagu—because he suspected them of plotting against him. Already, even before the Pilgrimage of Grace, the queen, Anne Boleyn, had fallen under his displeasure (1536). He caused her to be executed, and declared that her daughter, who was afterwards the great Queen Elizabeth, should not be his heir. He married again, with unseemly haste, the Lady Jane Seymour, who bore him his only son, Prince Edward, but died herself shortly afterwards (1537).

In his desire to be rid of the power of the Pope, Henry was drawn more towards Protestantism, and he caused an English Bible (the translation of William Tyndale) to be issued to the people by royal order and placed in every church. Thomas Cromwell, the king's chief minister, favoured Protestantism, and induced his master to destroy all the remaining monasteries in the country. Greater monas-
teries sup-
pressed So they were all swept away, the good and well ordered houses along with the worst and most corrupt. In many cases the decree was carried out with great cruelty, several abbots being hung for showing reluctance in surrendering their houses. With some of the wealth he thus obtained, Henry founded new bishoprics, but for the most part the money remained in his own hands and those of his favourite courtiers (1539).

The king now became afraid that his subjects were advancing further toward Protestant doctrines than he wished, and so forced Parliament to pass the cruel "Bill of the Six Articles" (1539) ordering punishment and death on those who should openly defend Protestant doctrines.

Another blow to the Reformers in England was the disgrace and death of Cromwell. He had persuaded

Henry to marry as his fourth wife Anne of Cleves, a German princess, hoping thus to gain alliances with the German Protestant princes against the Emperor Charles V. But when the new queen arrived in England, Henry, finding her plain and unattractive, resolved to divorce her, and revenged himself on Cromwell, who had arranged the marriage, by causing him to be beheaded on a charge of treason. Anne of Cleves accepted the divorce quietly, with a large pension, and the king married again. His fifth wife, Catherine Howard, proved an unworthy person and was beheaded, while for his sixth wife Henry was undeservedly fortunate in obtaining a good and religious young widow, Catherine Parr.

At the close of Henry's reign a war with Scotland was successfully terminated by a victory at Solway Moss, the news of which killed the Scottish king, James V., whose death left the throne to his infant daughter Mary, the celebrated "Queen of Scots" (1542).

Far more dangerous was Henry's last war with France, which proved a very costly one to the realm. England was indeed in such a condition of poverty and unhappiness as she had not known since the Black Death. The king's ferocious tyranny made his unfortunate subjects live in constant terror, not knowing from day to day what fresh edicts of cruelty he might put forth. It was a relief to the country when he died (1547), leaving the crown to his young son Edward VI.

CHAPTER XIV

REFORMATION AND REACTION

EDWARD VI (1547-1553) MARY (1553-1558)

EDWARD VI., the son of Henry VIII and the short-lived Jane Seymour, was a bright and promising, but delicate boy of ten. He had no male relatives on his father's side, and it was into the hands of his mother's brother, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, that the governance of England now fell. The young king's uncle was a well-intentioned but imprudent man, who lacked the judgment to deal wisely with the difficult problems that Henry VIII had left behind him. His first acts were to get himself appointed "Protector of the Realm and of the King's Person," and to create himself Duke of Somerset. He showed himself a zealous Protestant though under the reign of his Religious
Changes terrible brother-in-law he had been careful to keep his religious views in the background. The English Bible was already in use throughout the land, and Somerset now issued the first English "Book of Common Prayer" (1548), the earliest form of the Anglican Service Book of to-day. He also caused the old church ornaments and furniture—images, pictures, stained glass, and carving—to be destroyed or removed, as the early Protestants regarded them all as tainted with idolatry.

Somerset's foreign policy opened with an unwise war with Scotland, which was intended to force the Scots into allowing their five-year-old queen, Mary Stuart, to marry the young king of England. The duke won

a great victory at Pinkie, but gained no advantage by it, for the Scots at once shipped their little queen to France, where she was married to the French king's eldest son (1547)

This led to a war with France, which went against the English, and resulted in the loss of Boulogne, the only conquest which Henry VIII had made in his last campaigns

Two dangerous rebellions in England now weakened the power of Somerset. The first of them was a rising of the old Catholic party in Devonshire, which was put down with severity. The other, called "Ket's

Rebellion," was led by a Norfolk tanner, and demanded the redress of many real grievances of the peasantry. They complained that they were being turned off the land they used to cultivate by the new owners, who had obtained it after the suppression of the monasteries, because the incomers found it more profitable to keep sheep than to grow corn. Somerset would have tried to do something for the distressed country-folk, but Dudley, Earl of Warwick (a ruthless and ambitious man, the son of Henry VII's extortionate minister) marched against the insurgents and dispersed them, hanging their leader Ket.

Somerset was now deposed, and Dudley took his place as Protector, with the title of Duke of Northumberland. He allied himself to the royal house by marrying his son Guildford Dudley to the Lady Jane Grey, the king's cousin¹. Under his rule the Protestant party was in favour even more than under that of Somerset, and he issued a "Second Book of Common Prayer," to be used instead of the first, in which the influence of the Continental reformers is strongly seen.

¹ See the Table of the Tudor House on p 62.

The young king, who was as pious as well as a clever youth, was showing signs of failing health, and Northumberland foresaw that, if Edward died, his own power would be gone, for the heir to the throne was Edward's half-sister Mary, a bigoted Romanist.

The king was devoted to the new faith, and because he feared his sister would bring back the power of the Pope, he was induced by Northumberland to make a will, leaving the throne to his cousin Lady Jane Grey, who was also a Protestant. Northumberland now laid his plans for securing the crown for his daughter-in-law. To make sure that his own power should be undisputed, he caused Somerset, the late Protector, to be executed on a baseless charge of treason (1552).

In 1553 the young king died, and Lady Jane Grey was at once proclaimed queen by her unscrupulous father-in-law. But the whole English nation was fully persuaded that the Princess Mary was the rightful heir to the throne, so Northumberland's efforts in favour of Lady Jane Grey were in vain. He himself was taken prisoner by Mary's partisans and condemned to death, while the unfortunate Lady Jane, who had been called queen only thirteen days, was cast into the Tower, along with her husband, Guildford Dudley, and her father, the Duke of Suffolk.

The new queen was a woman of thirty-nine, who had been living in neglect and seclusion ever since the divorce of her mother, Catherine of Aragon. Her father and brother had both declared that she was not the rightful heir to the throne, and Mary had been practically a prisoner for twenty years under the strictest supervision. She was a bigoted Catholic, and firmly believed it was her duty to reconcile England with the

Papacy Before she had been two months on the throne the service of the Latin Mass was restored by her command, and proceedings were begun against ten Protestant bishops, including Cranmer the Primate. The country watched these doings of their new ruler with dismay, and when she announced her intention of marrying Philip of Spain, only son of the Emperor Charles V, trouble at once followed. Philip was, like herself, an intolerant Papist, whose persecutions of the Protestants were to cost him in later days the loss of the richest of his dominions on the Continent. The

choice of such a husband revealed to the English people what their queen's future government would be. A dangerous rebellion broke out, aiming at deposing Mary and putting in her place her sister, Elizabeth (who, however, seems to have known nothing of the plot). The conspirators, who were guided by the Duke of Suffolk (father of Lady Jane Grey) and Sir Thomas Wyatt, a young knight of Kent, intended Elizabeth to marry Courtenay, Earl of Devon. This foolish young man betrayed the plot before the conspirators were ready, and the rebellion was easily crushed everywhere except in Kent. In that very Protestant county Wyatt raised 10,000 men and marched on London, where they had a running fight with the queen's troops along the streets from Knightsbridge to Charing Cross, but were finally defeated.

Mary's revenge on the rebels was cruel. Wyatt, the Duke of Suffolk, and eighty other leaders were beheaded. But the queen thought that her throne would never be secure as long as Lady Jane Grey was alive, and on a vain pretence that she had been concerned in the conspiracy, the unfortunate young ex-

queen, only seventeen years of age, was beheaded, as was also her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley

Queen Mary now married Philip of Spain (1554), and in the same year she prevailed on Parliament to vote in favour of submitting to Rome and acknowledging the Pope as head of the Church

Religious
Changes

A papal legate was sent to England, Reginald Pole, a long-exiled English cardinal of Yorkist blood, who was the queen's cousin, and became her adviser in all her efforts to enforce her religion on the country

The cruel statute of Henry IV, *De Heretico Comburendo*,¹ was re-enacted, and all leading men who refused to renounce Protestantism were doomed to be burnt alive. The burnings began with those of Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, Prebendary of St Paul's, and every month, till the end of this unhappy reign, about ten persons suffered death for their faith. The bigoted queen is always remembered by the English as "Bloody Mary" and her victims as "the Martyrs." Her persecutions, which showed to the country so many fearless and godly men and women ready to die for their religion, accomplished exactly the contrary of what she intended, for England was practically converted to Protestantism in her reign.

Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, and Ridley, Bishop of London, were burnt together under the walls of Oxford in 1555, and followed six months later by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. His faith had wavered for a short time, and he had signed a promise to recant his opinions, but he withdrew the promise, and at the stake thrust first into the flames his right hand which had written the recantation, saying, "This shall burn first."

Altogether some three hundred martyrs suffered under the persecutions of Queen Mary, and the country grew more and more miserable and discontented. A war with France, which the queen undertook to aid her husband, Philip of Spain, was very disastrous for England. In it Calais, the last continental possession of the Crown, was lost, after having been in English hands ever since Edward III captured it in 1346.

In 1558 the queen died, forsaken by her husband, who had gone off permanently to the Continent, and detested by her people, having in five years by her persecutions made the establishment of Protestantism inevitable under her successor.

CHAPTER XV

ELIZABETH (1558-1603)

THE new queen, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII and his second wife, Anne Boleyn, was a woman of a very different character from her sister Mary. Although she inherited from her mother a full share of feminine vanity and love of pleasure, she had a man's brain and decision. Her Tudor blood showed itself, not only in the courage and imperious temper which she inherited from her father but also in the caution and economy that descended to her from her grandfather, Henry VII.

Coming to the throne in a time of great difficulty and trouble, she steered her way successfully through the religious and political difficulties that beset her.

Her people came to regard her with admiration and confidence, while England rose under her rule to such a pitch of strength and glory, as to make the Elizabethan Age one of the brightest pages in her history

Elizabeth was not a woman of strong religious feeling, and, like her father, she was not in favour of either Romanism or Protestantism. She did not wish to be the slave of the Pope, neither did she intend that the more violent reformers should introduce all the changes they desired. Her aim was to offend neither Catholics nor Protestants, but to lead them both into the "middle course" of an English National Church, which should be both orthodox and independent.

Circumstances, however, compelled her to lean to the Protestant side. The Catholic bishops having refused to recognise her as queen, Elizabeth was forced to depose them, and to send for the surviving bishops of Edward VI's creation, who were in exile abroad. She chose as the new Archbishop of Canterbury Matthew Parker, a wise and pious man, who guided the Church of England with discretion through this difficult time. Changes in the service were introduced, the English Liturgy was restored, and the Latin Mass was forbidden. But there was no serious attempt to enforce obedience by persecution. In this Elizabeth's wisdom was rewarded, for within ten years all Catholics of moderate views had joined the National Church.

One of the queen's first actions was to refuse the hand of Philip of Spain, who was anxious to keep his hold on England by marrying her. To strengthen herself against him Elizabeth made a treaty with France. For the first twelve years of her reign the country was free from foreign war, for though Philip was incensed against Elizabeth, he was too much occupied with his

persecution of the Protestants in the Netherlands to be able at present to attack England

It was from the sister-kingdom of Scotland that Elizabeth's first troubles were to come. The Queen of Scotland, Mary, was her nearest relation, and therefore Mary heiress to the throne of England, being the Queen of granddaughter of Margaret, sister of Henry Scots VIII. In 1561 Mary's husband, Francis II., King of France, died, and the Queen of Scots returned to her native land, which she had not seen since she was a child. The Reformation had taken a strong hold of the country during her absence, and Protestantism had been declared by the Scottish Parliament to be the religion of the realm.

Mary was a zealous Romanist, and roused much enmity by her efforts to support the old faith. She made an unhappy marriage with her cousin Henry, Lord Darnley, a worthless young man who treated her very cruelly. His crowning offence was to cause her secretary, an Italian named Rizzio, to be killed in her actual presence at the palace of Holyrood. After this Mary hated her husband bitterly, and she consented to a plot made by the Earl of Bothwell, a great Border lord, to murder Darnley. Bothwell carried it out by blowing up Darnley's house with gunpowder and slaying him as he attempted to escape.

It was well known that Bothwell had been the author of this wicked deed, and when the queen soon after married him, the Scottish nation rose in indignation against her and forced her to abdicate. Her infant son, James VI., was proclaimed king. His uncle, the Earl of Murray, ruled for him as regent, and at once made an alliance with Elizabeth.

But Queen Mary, who possessed great beauty and

fascination, had still a strong following among her Romanist subjects. She managed to escape from Lochleven Castle, where she was imprisoned, and put herself at the head of her party. Being defeated at Langside, she fled from her enemies and came to Carlisle, claiming protection from her Mary in
England cousin the Queen of England (1568). Elizabeth did not send her back to Scotland, where she would undoubtedly have been put to death, but kept her in captivity, moving from one castle to another for twenty years, under strict supervision.

Mary, naturally resenting this restraint, made many plots against her cousin, and, as she was the heiress to the throne, she was aided by many English Romanists, who desired to see her queen, in order to have their own religion restored. One of these plots led to the "Rising in the North," a rebellion headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, the heads of the great families of Percy and Neville (1569). They intended to make Mary queen, and marry her to the ambitious Duke of Norfolk. But Elizabeth easily put down the rising and spared both Mary and Norfolk.

In 1570 the Pope, Pius V, issued a Bull of Deposition against the Queen of England, declaring that her kingdom was taken from her and transferred to her cousin, Mary of Scotland. The result of this Bull was another plot of the English Romanists against Elizabeth. The Duke of Norfolk, though she had pardoned him for his share in the Rising of the North, again conspired against her, intending to marry the Queen of The Scots and place her on the throne. The con- Ridolfi spiracy is known as the Ridolfi Plot, from the Plot. name of an Italian banker who served as the go-between of the English conspirators and the King of Spain.

Philip II had promised to send Spanish troops to help the Duke of Norfolk, but the plot was discovered by Elizabeth's able minister, Robert Cecil Lord Burleigh, and the treacherous Duke and other leaders were executed. The Parliament wanted to banish Queen Mary also, but Elizabeth refused her consent.

Religious wars were now raging both in France and in the Netherlands where the Protestants had taken arms to protect themselves against the persecutions of their Catholic rulers. Elizabeth would not go to war on behalf of these Protestant insurgents who again and again appealed to her to take up their cause, but she sent help to them and allowed hundreds of Englishmen to go as volunteers to aid their armies. The French Protestants or Huguenots as they were called, suffered a terrible massacre on St Bartholomew's Day, ^{Massacre} 1572 when some 20 000 of them were of St Bar- treacherously slaughtered in Paris by the tholomew order of King Charles IX. Even after this Elizabeth would take no active measures in their aid. They were, however able to hold their own, and to compel King Charles to make terms with them and grant them toleration.

In the Netherlands a gallant struggle was carried on by the Protestants under William Prince of Orange against the army of King Philip of Spain whose best general the Duke of Alva, was beaten off in 1573 by the insurgents.

England in the meantime, during the twenty years of peace that followed Elizabeth's accession, was prospering at the expense of her unfortunate neighbours. Protestant artisans and merchants from France and the Netherlands came to settle here, bringing their industries and wealth to the land where they could live

without fear of persecution. But, most of all, England's maritime trade prospered. Being at peace with other countries her ships could come and go freely, and her seamen got into their hands all the commerce of Northern Europe, and navigated as far as the Mediterranean and the Baltic.

There was an even more attractive field for the English sailors in the Far West, where reports of the vast wealth of America drew all adventurous spirits as with a magnet. The Spaniards had plundered the old empires of Mexico and Peru, gaining great hoards of gold, and they claimed to have the sole right to America and its trade. This made Englishmen only the more eager to gain a footing in the western world, and the great sea captains of Elizabeth's time, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, had many collisions with the Spaniards, from whom they carried off great stores of treasure.

In 1583, Burleigh and Walsingham, the queen's faithful ministers, discovered a new plot against her. This was a widely-spread scheme for an attack on England by all the Catholic powers combined. Armies were being prepared by France and Spain for an invasion, while the English Romanists were to rise in favour of the Queen of Scots, and place her on the throne. To aid the invaders, "Throckmorton's Plot" was organised by an Englishman of that name, who undertook himself to assassinate Elizabeth. The plot was discovered, and Throckmorton executed. After this the queen at last gave up the pretence of neutrality toward Spain, and, dismissing King Philip's ambassador, prepared for regular war (1584).

Elizabeth was now forced to give open help to the

Protestants of the Continent, and she sent her favourite, the Earl of Leicester, with an army, to the Netherlands, where the Englishmen fought well, though they won no great battles. The brave Dutch Protestants were much in need of encouragement, for they had suffered a great loss in the death of their leader, William of Orange, who was assassinated by a fanatic, hired by Spanish gold. At Zutphen a small body of 500 Englishmen made a brave fight against the whole Spanish army, and retired without great loss, though the battle cost the life of Sir Philip Sidney, a brave and accomplished young gentleman, whose romance, "The Arcadia," had already made him famous. Far more important, however, than the doings of the army were the exploits of the English seamen, who from the moment that the open war against Spain began asserted a clear supremacy at sea.

Yet another conspiracy of the English Catholics was at this moment discovered. For some years past many secret missionaries of the old faith had come over in disguise from the Continent to stir up conspiracies against the queen. Anthony Babington, a gentleman of Derbyshire, had been persuaded Babington's Plot, by one of these emissaries, a Jesuit priest 1586 named Ballard, to agree to murder Elizabeth in her own palace. The Queen of Scots gave her approval to this plot, and wrote to the King of Spain beseeching him to send his armies to rescue her from prison, and declaring that she made over to him her right to the throne of England. Babington and his friends were detected, caught, and executed, but the English people demanded that Queen Mary should also suffer for her share in those many conspiracies. Urged on by her ministers, Elizabeth allowed the

Queen of Scots to be put on her trial She was found guilty, and Parliament besought the Queen to have her beheaded immediately After three months' hesitation Elizabeth signed the death-warrant of her cousin, which her ministers caused to be carried out at once, fearing that the queen might retract it The captive Mary of Scotland was executed at Fotheringay Castle (1587), after having been for twenty years a prisoner in the hands of her rival

Death of
Queen
Mary
of Scots

The people of England felt nothing but satisfaction, now that there was no longer a Catholic heiress to the throne The young King James of Scotland, to whom Mary's right to the throne of England had passed, had been brought up as a Protestant in his own country

But Philip of Spain accepted the legacy of her rights to the English crown which Mary had left him, and began to prepare for a great naval expedition against England, which should avenge her death and place him in possession of the throne His great flotilla, "the Invincible Armada," as the Spaniards called it, took a long time to get ready Before it could start, Sir Francis Drake made a descent on Cadiz, and burnt no less than 10,000 tons of shipping which lay in that harbour He returned to England, boasting that he had "sing'd the King of Spain's beard" This disaster caused further delay, and the Armada did not start till the spring of 1588 It consisted of 130 vessels, half of which were great "galleons" of the largest size known at that day, carrying 8000 seamen and nearly 20,000 soldiers The admiral, the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, was, however an incompetent commander, and his crews were inexperienced.

The English vessels were 'a great contrast to their enemies', for they were nearly all very small, but they were armed with heavier guns and were manned by capable sailors, under old sea captains who had learned their trade in long years of exploring and buccaneering across the Atlantic—men like Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher. The admiral was Lord Howard of Effingham, who proved worthy of the confidence the queen placed in him.

The Armada was sighted off the Lizard on July 28, and the English fleet at once put out of Plymouth to meet it. The Duke of Medina-Sidonia had made up his mind not to fight at once, but to pass up the Channel to the Straits of Dover. Here he meant to get into communication with the Duke of Parma, who held an army in Flanders ready to invade England as soon as the Straits were seized by the Spaniards. As the Armada moved slowly up the Channel, the small English ships sailed in, around, and among the big galleons, pouring a steady artillery fire on the unwieldy vessels, which could not pursue them in return, and the Spaniards suffered terribly from the cannonade. The Armada stopped at Calais, finding that the Duke of Parma could not come to meet it, as a Dutch fleet was blocking the ports of Flanders. The English then sent fire-ships in the night among the crowded vessels as they lay at anchor, which caused a panic and did much damage. Two days later a final engagement between the fleets was still more disastrous to the Spaniards, and Medina-Sidonia lost heart and fled away north to the German Ocean, intending to make his way homeward round the northern capes of Scotland. But a strong gale sprang up, which dispersed and shattered the great flotilla, of which only fifty-three

vessels ever returned to the ports of Spain. The wrecks of the rest were strewn along the rocky shores of the Western Highlands and Ireland.

Elizabeth had organised a strong land army and put herself at its head at Tilbury, ready to fight the invaders if they should succeed in crossing the Straits. The whole country responded with enthusiasm to her appeal, and the dangers from without had drawn all parties together, so that for the future plots and conspiracies in England were no longer to be feared.

The domination of Spain over Europe was at an end, and the outlook for the Protestants throughout the Continent became brighter. In the Netherlands the Dutch established their independence in the "Seven United Provinces," though Belgium still lay under the yoke of Spain. In France the Huguenots continued their struggle for liberty, until Henry of Navarre, in 1594, won the crown, and granted them complete peace and toleration by the celebrated "Edict of Nantes."

Elizabeth carried on a naval war against Philip II for the next fifteen years, by small expeditions directed against Spain and its possessions in America and the West Indies. The queen's love of economy would not allow her to spend enough money to fit out a large armament, but the small expeditions succeeded in inflicting a good deal of harm on Spain, and in establishing the supremacy of England on the seas.

During these years the first English colonies were planted by some of the adventurous sea-captains. Sir Walter Raleigh established one in North America, which he named Virginia, after his mistress the "Virgin Queen." He brought from thence the two products that are always connected with his name—tobacco and potatoes. The

English
Colonies.

latter years of Elizabeth were also notable for the rapid growth of the merchant navy. Trade with distant lands was for the future carried on mainly by English ships, bringing great increase of wealth to the seaports of their own land. The countryside, however, did not profit in the same way, for neither the landholders nor the peasants had as good a position now as in the days before the Reformation, and from the time of Elizabeth dates the ever rising importance of the cities of our land.

The political and commercial greatness of England was accompanied by a corresponding growth in the realms of intellect. To the reign of Elizabeth belong William Shakespeare (born 1564), the greatest English dramatist and Francis Bacon (born 1561), the greatest English philosopher. Other distinguished names of the time are those of the poet Edmund Spenser, author of "The Faerie Queen", Sir Philip Sidney, writer of "The Arcadia", Hooker, the political philosopher, Marlowe, the dramatist, and many others.

A new religious problem grew up in the later years of the queen's reign, raised by the more extreme Protestants. Influenced by intercourse with the Dutch and the Huguenots on the Continent, they desired to do away with the ritual and organisation of the English Church, to have no bishops or canons, no ornaments in the churches and no fixed ceremonial in the church services. They came to be called "Puritans," because they declared that they wanted nothing but "the pure Gospel." The queen had no sympathy with their views, and punished them severely when they wrote or preached against the National Church.

There is one dark page in the history of Elizabeth's reign to which we must now turn, it is covered by the records of Ireland

Henry VIII had extended the English influence in that country beyond "the Pale," or district which lay around Dublin, but Elizabeth went further, ^{Affairs} and divided the whole land into shires to be ⁱⁿ ruled by sheriffs on the English plan But ^{Ireland} the Irish people resisted her officials, desiring to live as they had done hitherto, under their own half-independent tribal chiefs Hence there resulted a terrible and lengthy conflict The Irish rose against the incomers, plundering and murdering, and were put down by the English troops with ruthless severity, whole districts being laid bare and every male person slain, while the women and children were left to starve

The two chief struggles of the Irish against the establishment of the English rule were that of the tribes of Munster, under the Earl of Desmond (1578-83), and that of the tribes of Ulster (1595-1601), led by O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone The first of these was put down, after a long struggle, by Grey, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, the second, which was aided by troops from Spain, was a still more serious matter The queen sent her favourite, the young Earl of Essex, in command of the army against Tyrone Essex, however, did not suppress the rebellion, but made terms with the Irish leader Elizabeth and her council refused to carry out the treaty that Essex had made, and the war with Tyrone went on, until in 1601 he made a complete submission to the queen, after being defeated by Lord Montjoy But the whole island was left in a condition of misery and depopulation

The Earl of Essex was indignant that his treaty had

been rejected, and, presuming on the queen's favour, he began to gather a party of the Puritans together—for he was a strong Protestant—to overthrow the ministers of state (1601) His ill-planned revolt failed ignominiously, and he was caught and imprisoned The queen would not pardon his rebellion, and suffered him to be beheaded for treason, though after he was dead she bitterly regretted him

Death
of Essex.

The last years of the great queen's reign were now come Elizabeth had outlived all her own generation, both friends and foes Philip of Spain was dead, and her faithful ministers, Burleigh and Walsingham, had passed away But she retained her vigour and her powers of governing Only eighteen months before her death she showed her cleverness in dealing with the

Monopoly
policy

Parliament In 1601 the Commons made a vehement protest against "monopolies"—grants made under the royal seal to individuals, to allow them to be the sole vendors or makers of certain articles of trade The queen came down to Parliament in person, and seeing that the feeling of the House was very strong on the subject, she gracefully yielded the point, and won enormous applause by announcing that all monopolies should be at once withdrawn and made illegal.

In 1603 Elizabeth died in her seventy-first year, consenting on her deathbed to name James, King of Scotland, as her heir

CHAPTER XVI

THE EARLY STUART PERIOD

JAMES I (1603-1625). CHARLES I (1625 till 1640)

WITH the accession of King James the two kingdoms of England and Scotland were for the first time united under one ruler, and our history for the future becomes that of Britain, not of England alone. King James was a man of thirty-seven, the son of the unhappy Queen Mary of Scots. He had not inherited either her courage or her talents, he was timid, vain, and garrulous, and although he possessed considerable book-learning he had no judgment, and was always guided by worthless favourites.

On his arrival in England the Puritan party presented an appeal to James, called the Millenary Petition, because it was supposed to be signed by 1000 ministers (though as a matter of fact it bore less than 800 names). The petitioners complained of the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Prayer-Book, and begged him to do away with bishops, and purify the land from the remains of Popish superstitions. The king invited the Puritan ministers to meet him at the Hampton Court Conference (1604), where they should discuss these matters with some of the bishops. But James had already made up his mind against the Puritans, and the only good thing that came of the conference was that an order was given for a new translation of the Bible, the "Authorised Version," which is in use at the present day. The Puritans went away in displeasure, and began to desert the National Church and form various sects of their own.

Robert Cecil, Lord Burleigh, son of Elizabeth's great minister, was made Earl of Salisbury by King James, and ruled wisely for him during the first nine years of his reign. One of his first acts under his new master was to deal with a conspiracy called "Cobham's Plot." Lord Cobham, Lord Grey, and Sir Walter Raleigh, the explorer, had formed a conspiracy, which was believed to aim at deposing the king and putting his cousin, the Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of the younger brother of his father, Lord Darnley, on the throne. Though the guilt of the accused persons was never clearly made out, the king and Cecil caused them all to be imprisoned, and the unfortunate Lady Arabella remained in captivity for the rest of her life.

Another and more famous conspiracy was the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. This was the work of some fanatical Catholics, amongst whom were Thomas Percy, a relation of the Duke of Northumberland, Catesby, and Sir Everard Digby. Garnet, the chief of the English Jesuits, knew of the plot, though he was not an actual conspirator.

They succeeded in hiring a cellar under the Houses of Parliament, and filled it with barrels of gunpowder. It was their intention to set fire to the gunpowder and blow up the king, princes, Lords and Commons on the 5th of November, when the king was to open Parliament. A Catholic rising and Spanish invasion were to follow. But one of the conspirators wished to save his own cousin, Lord Monteagle, a Catholic peer, and wrote him a mysterious letter, begging him not to attend the opening of Parliament on account of a great blow that was impending. Lord Monteagle showed the letter to the king, and the plot was discovered. Guy Fawkes

a fanatical soldier of fortune, who had been told off to set fire to the train of gunpowder, was found hiding in the cellars under the Houses of Parliament. On the news of his capture the other conspirators rose in arms, but were easily put down. Those of them who survived the fighting, together with Fawkes and the Jesuit Garnet, were put to death. The result of the plot was to make the laws against the Romanists more severe than before, for the people and Parliament alike were mad with rage against the promoters of the plot, and believed that every Catholic in the realm was implicated in it.

King James showed his usual want of wisdom by failing to understand that, although he was king, he could not govern without the consent of Parliament. He believed in what was called the "Divine Right of Kings," and held that kings derived Divine
Right their right to rule from Heaven, not from any choice by their subjects. He therefore thought that he could dispense with ordinary laws and customs at his own pleasure. In consequence of these views he became involved in never-ending quarrels with his Parliament.

The king had made a peace with Spain in 1604, which was very unwelcome to the English people, while in 1608 he still further offended the Houses by increasing the customs-duties at the ports on his own authority. When, three years later, his great minister Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, died, matters became worse, for James now allowed his unworthy favourites to interfere in the offices of state. One of these favourites, a young Scotsman, Robert Ker, whom the king made Earl of Somerset, for three years directed the Privy Council, until his crimes led to his fall. James replaced him by another

favourite, George Villiers, a young Leicestershire squire whose influence was to prove most disastrous to the king himself and to his heir, Prince Charles. Villiers, who became later Duke of Buckingham, was a handsome, ambitious, and arrogant young man. He possessed considerable ability, and soon gained complete ascendancy over the king and prince, encouraging them in courses hateful to the English nation.

An alliance with Spain was the last thing the people wished for, but King James was set on carrying it out, and sacrificed for it the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, the great explorer. Raleigh had—after twelve years' imprisonment in the Tower for his share in Cobham's Plot,—been allowed by the king to make an expedition to South America in the hope of finding rich gold-mines.

He did not find the gold, but came into conflict with the Spaniards there, so on his return to England the king had him arrested and beheaded, on the old charge of having been concerned in the conspiracy of 1603, but really in order to propitiate the King of Spain (1618).

James now thought of cementing the alliance with Spain by a marriage between his son Prince Charles and a Spanish princess. This led to a foolish adventure on the part of the young prince. He actually set out, accompanied by Buckingham, on a secret expedition to Spain, hoping to win the affections of the princess and the consent of the King of Spain to the marriage. But when they came to Madrid they found that Philip IV was shocked at their disregard of royal etiquette, and had no intention of concluding the match, so after some futile attempts at negotiation they returned home. Enraged

by his failure in this matter, Buckingham resolved to revenge himself by an alliance with France, the old enemy of Spain. For once public opinion was with the favourite, for war with Spain was always popular in England, and an alliance with France was easily arranged, it was sealed by the betrothal of Prince Charles to the French king's sister, Henrietta Maria

This breach with Spain induced the king to intervene more vigorously in another struggle on the Continent. In 1618 the famous "Thirty Years' War" had broken out in Germany. The first leader of the Protestant party against the Emperor Ferdinand was Frederick, the Elector Palatine, who was married to James's daughter, Elizabeth. Frederick had been beaten by the Emperor and his Spanish allies, and turned out of his dominions. The English people had been anxious to send an army to restore him, but the king had hitherto held back for fear of offending Spain. Now Parliament was allowed to vote liberal subsidies for an army to be sent to Germany—which, unfortunately, accomplished little or nothing.

The death of King James in 1625 left the country in a sadly different position from that of the England of Elizabeth. Her greatness was departed. On the Continent she was no longer feared or respected, while the nation itself was in a state of discontent and resentment against the royal power, which showed that a revolution must soon take place.

In two spheres only was the inglorious reign of James I marked by some success. The first was the realm of trade and colonial expansion, which steadily increased throughout the beginning years of the century. The most important event in this sphere

was the first foundation of the "New England" colonies in North America. The settlers were groups of Nonconformist Puritans, who left their native country to escape the harassing laws to which they were subject (1620-28).

The other region in which the reign of James showed a certain success was Ireland, where another rebellion of O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, was crushed, and his dominions in Ulster were portioned out among English and Scotch settlers, who formed a large and prosperous Protestant population in the north of the island.

Charles I was in every way superior to his father. He was a handsome, stately man, of cultivated mind and artistic tastes, and he was sincerely religious and attached to the Church of England. But he was, like his father, convinced that a king might act according to his own pleasure, and that the Parliament had no right to prevent him from carrying out his wishes. Being of a self-reliant and obstinate temper, he would not yield before the opposition of the Commons, and thus came about the great struggle which cost him his life.

The Parliament, which Charles summoned on his accession, soon perceived that Buckingham's influence was as strong over the new king as it had been over his father. Having no confidence in the favourite's powers of administration, they would not grant the large sums of money he demanded in order to continue the war with Spain, and they gave the customs revenue of the kingdom, called "Tunnage and Poundage," only for one year to the king, although it had been usual in the late reigns to give it for the whole of a king's life. Nevertheless, Buckingham sent an ex-

pedition to Cadiz, which failed so miserably that Parliament was proved to have been justified in its low opinion of his capacity. (1625)

At this time the French king, Lewis XIII, whose sister, Henrietta Maria, was now married to King Charles, asked his brother-in-law for the loan of some ships of war, as his own navy was small and weak. Charles granted his request, but when the English people heard that their ships were being used by the French king to fight against the Huguenots at La Rochelle, their indignation was great, for England always sympathised with the French Protestants. Buckingham was blamed for this also, and when Parliament met again in 1626, it presented a petition against the favourite. It declared that he had lent the ships to France, contrary to the interests of the realm and of the Protestant faith, and that he had raised illegal taxes (the "Benevolences," or forced loans which had been first used by Edward IV.)¹ But the king would not listen to these complaints, and immediately dissolved Parliament.

Yet Charles had been moved by the outcry about the ships, and quite suddenly he and Buckingham now made an entire change of policy. ^{The} Throwing over the French alliance, ^{French} they declared war against King Lewis, and ^{alliance} ^{broken off} Buckingham raised a great armament to go to the help of the Huguenots at La Rochelle.

Another disastrous failure was the result of this expedition, and while he was organising a new ^{Death} ^{of Buck} ^{ingham} expedition to make another attempt, the favourite was assassinated at Portsmouth by an officer named Felton, who had a grievance against him.

¹ See p 70.

Charles now took no new adviser into his confidence, but proceeded to act as his own prime minister. He summoned Parliament for the third time, hoping to get supplies from it for the war, now that the obnoxious favourite had disappeared. The Commons

The at once presented to him the celebrated
Petition "Petition of Right," which asked that certain
of Right ancient rights of Englishmen should be formally re-granted by the king. Among other things it demanded that no "Benevolences" or forced loans should be exacted, and that no man should be put in prison except on a stated definite charge, or kept there without being tried. Until these demands were granted, no money should be voted to the king. Charles, after some hesitation, gave his assent, and the subsidies were granted. But within a few months he began to raise Tunnage and Poundage, which had not been legally granted to him for more than a single year, and to imprison those who refused to pay. Seeing that the Commons were going to oppose his doings, he dissolved Parliament again, and for the next eleven years he proceeded to rule without it, according to his own will. Several members of the late Parliament were imprisoned by him—Sir John Eliot, one of the best men of his day, was sent to the Tower, where he died in captivity three years later.

Charles's two chief counsellors in the unhappy time that followed were William Laud, Archbishop
Arch of Canterbury, and Thomas Wentworth, Lord
bishop of Strafford
Laud.

Laud was an earnest but narrow-minded man, whose heart was set on crushing out Puritanism in the country. The result of his actions was that all the Puritan party in the Church deserted it, and joined

the ranks of Dissent, so that during the eleven years when Charles ruled without a Parliament the number of Nonconformists in England was increased threefold

—Strafford had in his early life been one of the members of Parliament who most opposed The Buckingham and his doings, but after the Earl of duke's death he joined the king's party, and Strafford became the foremost of his ministers. He was first made "President of the North," i.e. governor of the northern counties of England, and later, Lord Deputy of Ireland. In both these posts he ruled by a system which he called "Thorough," which meant a resolute persistence in setting aside all customs and constitutional usages that stood in the way of the king's will. He reduced Ireland to a more perfect obedience than it had ever known before. The country prospered under him, and he kept up a large army, and encouraged trade and manufactures. But he showed a ruthless disregard for law and morality, and his dealings with the native Irish were especially hard.

✓ The king carried on his government by many measures that were contrary to the law of the land, and the arbitrary court of the Star Chamber inflicted heavy fines on all who resisted his tyranny. Some of its sentences were extraordinarily cruel. A lawyer named Prynne had written a book protesting against the immoral plays that were put on the stage, the Court declared that his remarks reflected on the Queen Henrietta Maria, who was very fond of plays, so he was sentenced to have his ears cut off and pay a fine of £5000.

One of Charles's impositions was the celebrated "Ship-money." In ancient times the counties along the coast of England had paid a special tax, in time of war, to

provide vessels for the navy Charles had made peace both with France and Spain, but he now proposed to raise this tax from every shire in England as an annual payment John Hampden, the member for Buckinghamshire in the last Parliament, refused to pay this tax but when the case was tried before the courts the judges decided in the king's favour, and Hampden was fined (1637)

Ship
Money

The country was gradually becoming more and more discontented and ready to rebel, but it was from Scotland, not England, that the first rising came

The cause of the outbreak was Charles's attempt to force Episcopal government and High Church doctrine on the Scottish Kirk, which had no bishops and held the doctrines of Calvin, the most extreme of the early continental reformers

Both James and Charles had tried to introduce changes in the northern Church, but had met with a sturdy resistance Now it was Laud who made up his mind to convert Scotland to his views He had issued a set of "Canons," or Church rules, in 1636, which were, however, disregarded by the Scots The following year a new Book of Common Prayer was ordered by the king to be taken into use in all the churches in Scotland This led first to riots in Edinburgh and then to the formation of the "National Covenant"—a solemn agreement by which the Scots bound themselves to resist tyranny and Popery The General Assembly of the Scottish Church then condemned the new canons and Book of Common Prayer (1638)

The king regarded this as rebellion, and began to prepare for a war with Scotland But he soon found that he could not get together an army for this pur-

pose Half the people in England thought the Scots were in the right, and Charles could obtain neither recruits nor money for his enterprise So he took the desperate step of summoning a Parliament to grant him supplies

CHAPTER XVII

THE GREAT CIVIL WAR (1640-1649)

THE two Houses met in the spring of 1640, and the Commons, led by John Pym, member for Tavistock, at once announced that they would discuss their grievances before they could think of making grants of money Charles immediately dissolved the Parliament before it had sat three weeks Hence it is known as "the Short Parliament"

Raising some thousands of pounds by ship-money and other illegal methods, the king got together an army, but it was so untrained and so unwilling to fight against the Scots, that it disbanded after the first skirmish at Newburn, and the troops of the Covenant were able to occupy Northumberland and Durham Charles summoned Strafford from Ireland to help him, but even the great Lord Deputy could not make the discontented army fight, and in despair the king again called Parliament together (November 1640)

This assembly, which was to gain the name of "the Long Parliament," lasted many years It fought out with Charles the great dispute whether the "sovereignty" of England was for the future to be in the hands of the king, or whether the will of the Commons (representing the people of the country) was to be the highest power of the land,

When Parliament met, Pym at once took the leadership of the discontented party, and within eight days Strafford was impeached and sent to the Tower. It was shown at his trial that he had been guilty of many cruel and illegal acts in his governorship in the north of England and in Ireland. But the chief charge against him was that he had advised the king to bring over troops from Ireland to reduce the English people to obedience, and although this was not clearly proved against him, he was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. Charles had pledged his word to Strafford to save his life, but the angry rioting of the people of London frightened him, he allowed the execution to take place, and Strafford went to the block murmuring, "Put not your trust in princes" (May 12, 1641). This selfish and cowardly sacrifice of his faithful servant turned the hearts of his subjects from Charles more than ever. His other counsellor, Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, was also impeached on the same charge of treason. He was accused of illegal acts in the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission, of which he was undoubtedly guilty, and also of secretly encouraging Popery, of which he was as undoubtedly innocent. But he was not tried at once, only kept imprisoned in the Tower, where he was to spend more than two years before he was brought up for judgment.

The Long Parliament then proceeded to various measures of reform. It abolished the two great unconstitutional courts of the Star Chamber and High Commission, it declared that ship-money and benevolences were illegal, and provided that Parliament should be called together every three years.

All these were wise and just enactments, but now

the extreme party in the House proceeded to draw up a scheme for altering the whole government of the Church of England, in the direction of Puritanism, and for abolishing bishops altogether. This was called "the Root and Branch Bill;" from a term used in a great petition in its favour sent in by the city of London (May 1641).

This sweeping measure was at once opposed by all the moderate men in the House who remained Churchmen, and Pym and his party, after many fierce debates, agreed to drop it. But a division in the Parliament had now shown itself, and Charles began to hope that the Church party and the moderate men would in future take his side, because they saw that the extreme section of reformers might prove as tyrannical as the king himself. At this time troubles broke out in Ireland, which were to do great harm to the king and his cause. Since Strafford's iron rule had ended, the Irish were resolved to be revenged for their sufferings under his government, and a great religious rebellion burst out. The Catholic natives, who formed the large majority of the population, arose to cast out and slay the English colonists in the island, and to force the king to remove the laws against Romanism. They murdered the unhappy colonists by thousands, or drove them out of their dwellings in the cold autumn weather, so that they died of exposure or starvation.

Unhappily for the king, the rebels declared that they acted by his orders, and were not striking against him, but only against the English Parliament and the Protestant religion. The Puritan party in England were ready to believe this, or any other accusation made against Charles, and when Parliament met in the winter (1641-42), they showed their indignation

by putting forth "the Grand Remonstrance," which summed up all the illegal acts that Charles had committed since his accession. They went on to propose another bill for the "reformation" of the Church of England, which was carried after much opposition.

After this, the moderate party, both in the House and all over the country, passed over to the king's side. They were forced to choose between a king, who though unwise and tyrannical was yet a good Churchman like themselves, and the Parliament that was ruled by extreme Puritans who wished to wreck the old Church, and they reluctantly but firmly threw in their lot with Charles.

Finding that he had now a strong body of supporters in Parliament, the king made an effort to subdue his enemies by coming down suddenly to the House of Commons with an armed retinue, to arrest the five chiefs of the Puritan party—Pym, Hampden, Hazlrigg, Holles, and Strode. But they had received warning of his approach, and fled to the City, where they were received and protected by the London militia. This foolish action of Charles showed that the moment he had power he was ready to resume all his illegal methods, and from henceforth it was felt that the quarrel between the king and Parliament could only be ended by war. Each party now prepared for the struggle by gathering armies and munitions of war. On August 22, 1642, the king set up his standard at Nottingham, and bade all his friends come to him. At the same time the army of the Parliament, under the Earl of Essex, marched north from London. The civil war had begun.

The country was now divided into two parties—the Royalists (who were often called the Cavaliers) and the Parliamentarians (who were named Roundheads, because

they wore their hair cut short, instead of in the flowing curls which were fashionable at that time) The king's party fought because they believed that the Crown and the Church were in danger The Parliamentarians took up arms to preserve the ancient rights of the realm against the tyranny of a king London and the eastern counties were strongly in their favour, while the Cavaliers were in a majority in the West, the North, and Wales. The Midlands were divided in their allegiance

Charles moved from Nottingham to assemble his forces at Shrewsbury In the army that mustered there the cavalry were very numerous, for the larger part of the country gentry had joined the king, while the infantry were less strong and less well-equipped The king gave the command of the army to Lord Lindsey, while his nephew, Prince Rupert of the Palatinate, was general of the horse

The Parliamentary forces which Essex gathered at Northampton had a large and formidable body of foot-soldiers, but their cavalry was weak and inefficient The first conflict took place in October, when Charles had marched towards London and was overtaken by the Parliamentary army at Edgehill, on the borders of Warwickshire and Oxford- Battle of
Edgehill, shire The Royalists on the hillside swept 1642 down on the army of Essex in the plain below, and the king's cavalry drove the enemy's horsemen before them Led by the reckless Prince Rupert the Cavaliers pursued the fugitives for miles, taking no thought for the main battle that was going on behind them. Here the result of the conflict was very different, for the foot-soldiers of Essex had burst through the Royalist centre, and captured the king's standard and the whole of his artillery * So when Rupert returned in the even-

ing he found that instead of being a Royalist victory the battle was an indecisive one each party held the same position as before the fight But the king's army had the advantage of lying nearer London than his enemies, and if Charles had now marched resolutely on the capital he might perhaps have taken it

Instead of doing so he only went as far as Brentford, and then sent proposals for peace to the Parliament, retiring with his army on Oxford, which he made his headquarters during the next two years While the campaign of Edgehill took place, fighting was going on all over England In the East the Roundheads everywhere carried the day, while in the West and North the king's party triumphed

The negotiations that went on through the winter months came to nothing, for the Parliament demanded the right to call out and officer the militia, and insisted on the "reformation" of the Church of England into a Presbyterian kirk Charles would not accept these conditions, and the struggle had to go on, though both parties now found it hard to maintain

To procure money the king summoned a Parliament at Oxford, to which a majority of the House of Lords and nearly a third of the House of Commons came This body granted him the right to raise forced loans, and to take customs duties all over the realm but as the richest part of England was not in his hands this did not amount to much The campaign of 1643 had no more decided results than that of the previous year The king and Essex fought no great battle, though their armies watched each other all through the summer, and there were some small skirmishes, in one of which, at Chalgrove Field, was slain Hampden, the second man in importance among

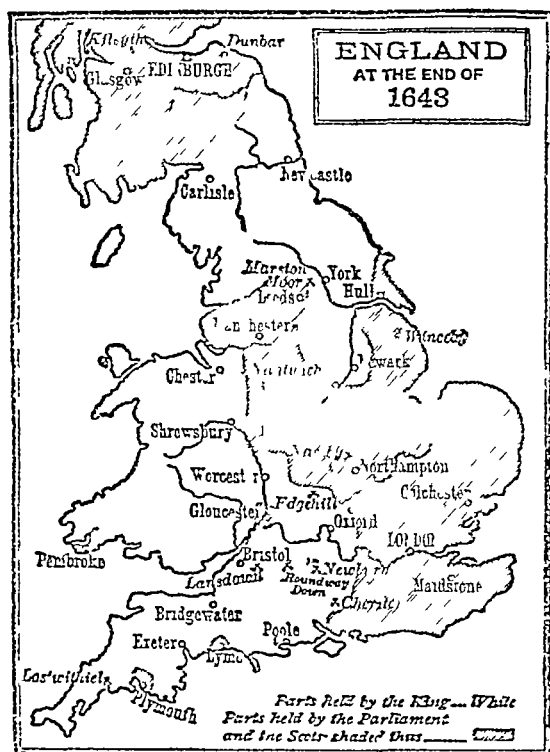
the Parliamentary leaders But in the West the Royalists under Sir Ralph Hopton were successful in several fights, and in the North the Marquis of Newcastle won a victory at Adwalton Moor, and subdued all Yorkshire save the town of Hull. He would also have conquered Lincolnshire but for the resistance of a new force which opposed him, the levy of the "Associated Counties," a local army of the shires of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, in which Oliver Cromwell, soon to be known as the best soldier in England, served as general of horse.

In the autumn the king laid siege to Gloucester, but withdrew from it when Essex marched to its relief. But when the Parliamentary army turned back towards London, having accomplished its errand, Charles threw himself across its path, and offered battle at Newbury. A fierce fight followed the Parliamentary troops tried to pierce through the royal host, while Prince Rupert made unsuccessful attempts to break through the solid masses of the London train-bands. The combat was indecisive, and when night came the king was alarmed to find that his powder was exhausted, and retired on Oxford (August 1643).

Both parties were now trying to gain help from without to aid them in the struggle. The Covenanters of Scotland promised to send an army to aid the Parliament, who gave a pledge in return that the Kirk of Scotland should be preserved, and that the Church of England should be "reformed" after the same pattern, and adopt Presbyterian methods of government. This treaty was the last work of Pym, who died six weeks later.

The king at the same time sought aid from Ireland,

making peace with the rebels there, in order that the Lord Deputy, Ormonde, should be free to send over his army—the troops that Strafford had trained—to help in the English wars. Charles also engaged some native



Irish levies, belonging to the "Catholic Confederation," which the insurgents had formed. The news that those fanatical Romanists, who had committed the Ulster massacres, were coming to fight them, raised the Puritans to greater indignation than ever against the king.

Early in 1644 those new forces on each side were in the north of England. The Irish levies landed at Chester, but were defeated and dispersed at Nantwich by a Parliamentary army under Fairfax, who was then joined by the Scots. They had crossed the Tweed in January, and pushed their way slowly south driving the Royalist army under the Marquis of Newcastle before them. The king then sent Prince Rupert out from Oxford, with a large force of cavalry, to strengthen Newcastle, while the "Associated Counties" army, under Lord Manchester and Oliver Cromwell, arrived to help Fairfax and the Scots.

At Marston Moor, near York a great battle was fought in which the forces numbered more than 20,000 men on each side. Here Newcastle's horse broke the Scottish infantry and the cavalry of Fairfax, but then dashed off the field in pursuit of the fugitives (as at Edgehill), while the rest of their host under Rupert himself, was defeated by Cromwell's well-trained Eastern horsemen, and the Royalist infantry was broken up and dispersed. The day ended in a complete victory for the Parliamentarians, and utterly destroyed the king's power in the north of England (July 2 1644).

This disaster would have ruined the Royalist cause, if it had not been for a victory won in the south-west by the king himself at Lostwithiel in Cornwall. There the whole army of Essex was captured or dispersed. By this untoward event the victorious Parliamentary forces from the north were forced to march down to protect London. There followed another indecisive battle at Newbury, after which Charles withdrew once more to Oxford.

Battle of
Marston
Moor,
1644.

Battle
of Lost-
withiel

Second
Battle of
Newbury,
1644.

The Parliament now tried again to negotiate with the king, but without result, and then they took a step which made any further attempt at peace impossible. They brought the old Archbishop of Canterbury out of prison and executed him. It was a cruel action, only intended to grieve the king and to satisfy the hatred of the extreme Presbyterians (January 10, 1645).

In this winter an important measure was taken in hand by Parliament—the reorganisation of their army. They realised that professional soldiers would be better commanders than the great peers and the politicians who had hitherto led their forces. A “self-denying ordinance” was therefore passed, by which the members of both Houses of Parliament gave up their military posts. One exception was made, in favour of Oliver Cromwell, who was acknowledged to be the best cavalry officer on the Parliamentary side. The “New Model Army,” as it was called, was now created—a force of 20,000 picked men, under Sir Thomas Fairfax, the victor of Marston Moor, with Cromwell as second in command. The Cuirassiers or “Ironsides,” whom Cromwell had levied and trained from the yeomen of the eastern counties, the stronghold of Puritanism, were very able and zealous soldiers, who regarded the war against the king as a religious duty.

The “New Model” met the king’s army at the great battle of Naseby in the following year, where it won a complete victory. Prince Rupert, as usual, after a successful charge pursued his enemies far away, while Cromwell’s cuirassiers broke to pieces the Royalist infantry and won the day. For the next eight months the king was a fugitive in the Midlands, riding about with a body of two or

Execution
of Laud.

Battle of
Naseby,
1645

three thousand horse, constantly pursued by the enemy

Misfortune met the armies of his supporters also, both in the north and the west. In Scotland the Marquis of Montrose, who had raised the Royal standard in the Highlands, after winning some brilliant successes was defeated at Philiphaugh, while the Royal army in the west of England was crushed by Fairfax, who took Bristol (September, 1645), drove his enemies into Cornwall, and forced them to lay down their arms (March, 1646)

Charles now lost all hope, and when the Roundheads began to muster for the siege of Oxford, he took a desperate step. Leaving that town in disguise, he rode to the camp of the Scottish Covenanters at Newark, and gave himself up to them. The Scots were willing to restore him to the throne if he would take the Covenant and impose Presbyterianism on England. But the king, a conscientious man according to his lights, would not give up the Church to which he belonged. Irritated at his refusal, the Scots delivered him to the Parliament, after first exacting the payment of £400,000 for their expenses during the last campaign—a transaction which led the Royalists to say that they had “sold their king”

Charles
gives
himself
up to the
Scots

For some time Charles was kept in easy and honourable confinement at Holmby House, in Northamptonshire, while he carried on negotiations with his conquerors. The Presbyterians, who were in the majority in Parliament, now wished to disband the army, as its work was finished. But the New Model, which was largely composed of “Independents”—dissenters who rejected Presbyterianism and wished for the toleration of all sects—refused to be dismissed. The

soldiers, with the approval of their leaders, Fairfax and Cromwell, prepared to resist the Parliament, and a body of 500 horsemen rode secretly to Holmby and seized the king, bringing him to the headquarters of the army. Marching on London, the Independents put to flight many of the Presbyterian members of the House of Commons, and then they proceeded to treat with the king. They offered him liberal terms. All sects of religion should be tolerated, all exiled Royalists pardoned except five, and Parliament was to be given the control of army and navy for a period of ten years.

Unfortunately, Charles did not accept this moderate offer. He hoped that, while the Presbyterians quarrelled with the army, he might be able to free himself from both, and made arrangements that his partisans all over the country were to rise in arms in his favour at a given signal.

The king succeeded in escaping from his soldier-guards, and reached the Isle of Wight. Here the governor of the island kept him in security at Carisbrooke, but did not send him back to the army.

In the spring of 1648 the rising of the Royalists, which Charles had planned, took place. It began in Scotland, where the Duke of Hamilton led an army south across the Tweed, while insurrections broke out all over England, in Kent, Essex, Cornwall, the eastern counties, and in Wales.

Fairfax and Cromwell, however, with great vigour and skill put down the whole rebellion in less than three months of hard fighting. Fairfax subdued Kent and the eastern counties, while Cromwell crushed the rising in Wales, and defeated the Scottish army at Preston (Sept. 1648).

Battle of
Preston

The second Civil War thus ended in utter disaster.

to the Royalists The temper of the army was so fierce that all the captured leaders of the rising were executed, and vengeance on the king himself was resolved on. To secure it the leaders of the soldiery resolved to terrorise the Parliament A leading Independent officer, Colonel Pride, marched on Westminster, and turned out all the Presbyterian members of the House of Commons, allowing only sixty Independent members to enter it This scandalous outrage was called "Pride's Purge," and the ridiculous remnant of the House which remained sitting was styled in derision "the Rump" A bill was passed by them appointing a High Court of Justice to try the king. When it was seen that Charles's life was aimed at as well as his crown, many of the leaders of the Independents, including Fairfax, the chief of the whole army, drew back, and many members of the High Court refused to sit in it But the army, with Cromwell as its leader, was determined on the king's death

Pride's
Purge

When Charles was brought before the court, which was presided over by a lawyer named Bradshaw, he declared, with perfect justice, that it had no right to try a king of England, and refused to answer any questions put to him. Ignoring this plea the judges sentenced him to death, and on the 30th January, 1649, he was executed before the windows of Whitehall Palace. The dignity and calm courage with which he met his death impressed all the people, and by the Royalists he was regarded as a saint and martyr.

Trial and
Execu-
tion of
Charles

CHAPTER XVIII

THE COMMONWEALTH AND CROMWELL
(1649-1660)

IMMEDIATELY after the king's execution a republic was proclaimed. England was to be a "Commonwealth," governed by the House of Commons and a Council of State. But the House was no more than the small body of Independent members who were left sitting after "Pride's Purge," and it was obliged to act according to the will of the army. Since Ireland and Scotland would not obey the new government, Cromwell was sent out against them. His first object was to conquer Ireland. But before sailing he had to reduce his own army to submission, for a sect called "the Levellers," from their wish to make all men equal, arose in mutiny. Cromwell shot several of their leaders, and pardoned the rest of the band. He then took over a powerful army to Ireland, where he crushed the Irish Royalists who joined with the Romanists to oppose him. Cromwell in Ireland. Two of the enemy's strongholds, Drogheda and Wexford, were taken by storm, and every man of the garrisons slaughtered. These terrible massacres terrified the Irish, and they made little more resistance. After this Cromwell left General Ireton to complete the conquest of Ireland, and returned in haste with part of his army to fight the Scots.

After the king's death the northern realm had refused to follow the example of the south, or to abolish royalty. The Prince of Wales had been proclaimed king, as Charles II., and he had now arrived

in Scotland, where he took the oath of the Covenant, and put himself at the head of the Scottish army.

Cromwell fought a successful battle at Dunbar and took Edinburgh. But while he was pushing on into the interior of Scotland, Prince Charles and his army slipped past him and entered England, to raise the southern Royalists in their aid. Cromwell pursued them, and won a complete victory at Worcester, which

he used to call "the crowning mercy," for it put an end to the Civil War, and the Royalists were never again able to rise against him.

The
Battle of
Worcester,
Sept 1651

Prince Charles wandered as a fugitive for some weeks, and then escaped to France. Cromwell was now commander of the army, as Fairfax had renounced his position after the king's execution. But the government of the country still lay in the hands of that remnant of Parliament which people called "the Rump." Now Cromwell was not only a great general, he was anxious to be a reformer of the life and religion of his country. He wished, after the battle of Worcester, that "the Rump" should come to an end, and a new House of Commons be elected which should really represent the people. But when he suggested this, "the Rump" showed no wish to dissolve, and declared that it should sit for three years more, in order to pass important measures of reform in the constitution.

The Parliament had engaged in a war with Holland over matters of trade. The English fleets were generally successful, led by Robert Blake, a colonel of horse, who became for the time an admiral, and turned

out an excellent one. The Dutch commander, Van Tromp, on one occasion won a battle, after which he sailed down the Channel with a broom at his masthead, boasting that he had swept the seas

War with
Holland

clear. But the following spring, Blake beat him in two fights, at the latter of which the gallant Dutchman was slain (June 3, 1652), after which a peace was made which was advantageous to England.

Before the Dutch war was ended the Parliament, which had worn out the patience of the army and the country, was suddenly dissolved by Cromwell himself. He first made an angry speech to them from his place among them, and then, calling in his soldiers, bade them turn the members out, and "Take away that bauble,"—the great mace which lay on the table before the Speaker, and was the emblem of the dignity of the Commons (April 20, 1653).

Cromwell then summoned another Parliament, whose members were chosen by a committee, of which he was president. This illegally-created body was called Barebones' Parliament, from the strange name of one of its chief members, "Praise-God Barebones." But it soon dissolved itself, as, in spite of the manner in which it had been chosen, it would not fall in with Cromwell's views. He therefore published a new scheme for the ruling of the country, calling it "the Instrument of Cromwell, Government," which provided that England should be governed by a "Lord Protector" and a House of Commons of a "new model," which was to be summoned in the following year. In it members for Ireland and Scotland were to sit, a thing never seen before.

Cromwell became Lord Protector, and was king in all but name. His office was to be held for life, and he was to summon and dissolve Parliament, which could pass no bill without his consent.

The government of the Church was his first concern. A body of men called "Tricis" were appointed, who

were to give the livings throughout the land to clergy of any Protestant sect who applied for them, the only conditions being that each candidate should be a man of good character, and a believer ^{His} in the essential doctrines of Christianity ^{Reforms} But as the use of the Church of England Prayer-book was forbidden, the Episcopalian clergy did not avail themselves of this offer. At least half the nation were still Churchmen, and Cromwell's well-meant arrangement was of no use to them, they could only meet by stealth to hold their services.

The "New Model Parliament," which met in September, 1654, lasted but five months, for it was anxious to restrict the Lord Protector's power, so he dissolved it as soon as he could, and for eighteen months ruled despotically. After this he appointed military governors all over England. The country was kept in good order, but bitterly resented being ruled by the army, and Cromwell himself was continually discovering plots against his life.

Scotland was also quiet under the Protector's government, and Ireland was held down by a cruel system, which was designed to drive all the native Irish into the province of Connaught, while the rest of the island was divided up among English and Scottish settlers.

Master of Great Britain, the Protector was determined that this country should be respected abroad as it had been in the days of Elizabeth. His ^{Cromwell's} foreign policy was the same as that of the ^{Foreign} great queen—resolute opposition to Spain as ^{Policy} the foe of Protestantism, and as the monopolist of the trade of the Indies. In 1655 Cromwell declared war on Philip IV, and for several years the British fleets under Blake and other commanders gained many successes.

over the Spaniards at sea. On the Continent Cromwell allied himself with the French king, Lewis XIV, in war against Spain. The greatest proof of the power of England at this time was the fact that Cromwell was able to interfere to prevent the Duke of Savoy, far away in Italy, from persecuting his Protestant subjects, the Waldenses (1655).

But though victorious abroad, the Protector could not build up a stable constitution at home. He again summoned a Parliament (1656) which was loyally inclined toward him, and even pressed him to assume the title of king, but he could not persuade it to consent to the setting up of a new House of Lords. Cromwell therefore dissolved the assembly without any new constitution having been formed.

His health had been much tried by the difficulties of government, and by the perpetual fear of assassination, and in the summer of 1658 he was seized with an illness which ended with his death on September 3—the seventh anniversary of the “crowning mercy” of the battle of Worcester.

He left England great and prosperous, but unhappy and discontented, for Oliver, although well-meaning, had become a tyrant, and the nation resented being held down by force. He had sincerely desired to use his power for his country's good, yet in his own day he was bitterly hated, and by a large part of the people regarded not only as an ambitious usurper, but as a hypocrite, who used religion as an excuse for his own selfish schemes.

The Council of State appointed Cromwell's son, Richard, Lord Protector after his father's death. But he was a quiet country gentleman, with no ambition or desire to govern. The army was determined not

to lose its hold on the country, and a board of officers forced Richard to dissolve the Parliament which he had summoned on becoming Protector. After this he resigned his office, and retired to live at his country house.

Richard
Cromwell

England was now left without a Protector and without a Parliament. The army resolved on restoring the old "Rump Parliament"—the most incapable and the most despised of all the bodies that had ever ruled England. At the same time the various leaders of the troops began to fall out among themselves, each wishing to fill the place of Cromwell.

There was a general feeling in the country that the only way out of these troubles was the restoration of the old constitution of England, with King, Lords, and Commons.

Ere long George Monk, the general of the army in Scotland, entered into negotiations with the exiled Prince of Wales and the chiefs of the English Royalists. He marched on London and caused the surviving members of the old "Long Parliament" (the last undoubtedly legal Government that England had possessed) to meet and issue writs for a new House, which assembled under the name of the "Convention Parliament."

General
Monk

Monk then openly treated with the exiled Prince about a restoration of the monarchy, and Charles promised in his "Declaration of Breda," so called from the Dutch town where it was signed, that the past should be forgotten, and that he would govern constitutionally and grant religious toleration.

Conven-
tion Par-
liament.

The Res-
toration,
1660

In May 1660 the Prince of Wales was formally invited to return, and when he landed at Dover

on May 29, he was hailed as Charles II. amid national rejoicings.

CHAPTER XIX

THE RESTORATION AND THE REVOLUTION

CHARLES II (1660-1685) JAMES II (1685-1688)

THE new king had spent fourteen unhappy years in exile, and was firmly resolved that whatever happened he "would never go on his travels again" So, though he would have liked to have absolute power, he felt that he must not run the risk of offending the nation And though his own leanings were in favour of Romanism, he professed himself a zealous member of the English Church so as to please his people He was a selfish, heartless, immoral man, entirely given to the pursuit of pleasure, but possessed of a clever wit and careless good-humour, which won him an easy popularity. He married a Portuguese princess, Catharine of Braganza, who brought him as dowry the city and island of Bombay, the foundation of our Indian Empire

The Parliament disbanded Cromwell's standing army, and declared that all who had fought against the king in the old wars were forgiven, with the exception of those who had sat in the "High Court of Justice" which condemned Charles I to death, of whom thirteen were executed and twenty-five imprisoned The bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton were taken from their graves and hung on the gallows—a horrible and unworthy action for which there is no excuse

An "Act of Oblivion and Indemnity" was passed to cover the doings of the Government of the last twelve years. The greatest difficulty was the settlement of the Church, and this problem remained unsolved when the first Parliament of Charles II was dissolved in December 1660.

The new Parliament which assembled in the following year was full of devoted Royalists, and was called "the Cavalier Parliament." By it the Church settlement was carried out in the most summary way. An "Act of Uniformity" was passed, which was meant to force the Puritans either to conform or to leave the Church. The Book of Common Prayer, slightly revised, and the Thirty-Nine Articles were to be the rule of faith, and every minister was ordered to declare his assent to them or else to vacate his benefice. The large majority of the Puritan clergy conformed, but some two thousand refused obedience, and were expelled from their livings on St Bartholomew's Day, 1662.

Other bills were passed which were aimed at the Puritan laity. The "Corporation Act" required that all mayors, aldermen, and office-holders in the cities or boroughs of England should take the Sacrament according to the Anglican rites on assuming their functions. The "Conventicle Act" forbade religious meetings of Dissenters. If more than five persons assembled for worship they were considered to be a "conventicle" and punished. The "Five Mile Act" forbade any minister who had refused to sign the "Act of Uniformity" to live within five miles of any city or corporate borough.

The chief minister of the realm in the days of the

Cavalier Parliament was Edward Hyde, Lord Clarendon. He was one of the survivors of the Long Parliament, and had been among the reforming members of that body, until the Puritans began to attack the Church, and then he joined the Royalists. All through Charles's exile he had followed the prince, and his daughter, Anne Hyde, was married to James, Duke of York, the king's brother. He was an honest and capable but not a very strong man, whose aim was to preserve the balance between the king's rights and the power of the Parliament, but in this he failed to satisfy either Charles or the Commons.

A naval war with Holland, caused by the same jealousies in matters of trade which had led to the war of 1652, was the chief political event of Clarendon's administration. It was an unwise and unsuccessful undertaking, in which two old military men, General Monk and Prince Rupert, commanded the English fleet with no very brilliant results. Its most disgraceful episode was a raid up the Thames, executed by a Dutch squadron in 1666, when the great dockyard at Chatham was surprised and burnt.

Two grievous troubles came upon the city of London in the years 1665 and 1666. The first of these was the Great Plague, which raged in the capital with awful severity, the crowded and ill-built town being a place where infection spread rapidly. At least 100,000 persons perished of this terrible sickness.

London had hardly recovered from the Plague when, in the next year, a fresh calamity came upon it—the Great Fire. A chance conflagration was spread by a strong wind, and swept away two-thirds of the inhabited houses of the capital. All the great buildings of mediæval London perished in

the flames—the old cathedral of St Paul's, eighty-eight other churches, the Guildhall, and countless noble mansions and halls. The Great Fire was not without its benefits, however, for the city was rebuilt with wider streets, so that it became a more healthy and convenient place to live in.

In 1667 the Dutch war was ended by the Peace of Breda, with some disgrace but no loss to England, for by it was gained the important Dutch colony of New Amsterdam in North America, which has changed its name to New York. The want of success of the war was unjustly imputed to Clarendon, and he lost his place as the king's chief minister, leaving England to live in exile until his death.

Charles now took five of his unscrupulous friends to be his chief advisers. This ministry was called the "Cabal"—from the Hebrew word *cabala*, which means strange and mysterious knowledge—^{The Cabal} because they were supposed to know all the king's secrets, and because the initials of their names spelt "cabal." They were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. The two first were Romanists, which made the people regard them with suspicion. Buckingham was the son of Charles I's favourite, a debauched and unscrupulous man. Ashley and Lauderdale had been on the Puritan side, but gave up their principles for the sake of power and position.

Charles had set his heart on two things. The first was to free himself from the control of Parliament, the second to get toleration, if possible predominance, in England for the Romanists. To further his schemes the king entered into alliance with his cousin, Lewis XIV., the powerful and ambitious monarch of France, who was the champion of Romanism on the Continent.

In the iniquitous "Treaty of Dover" (1670) Charles undertook to help Lewis in destroying Holland and dividing up the Spanish Netherlands. In return for this he was to receive a subsidy of £200,000 a year from France, and to get the aid of French troops to help in restoring the predominance of the Catholics in England. This last clause of the treaty was secret, and known only to the two Romanists in the Cabal.

Charles, having prorogued Parliament, then declared war on the Dutch, while the French king launched a great army into the Netherlands and Holland. But the Dutch saved themselves by a heroic resistance. Their fleet fought a drawn battle with the English, and thus held off a naval invasion, while the young Prince William of Orange saved Amsterdam from the French, by breaking down the dykes and letting in the water all over the country, so that the enemy were driven back by the floods (1672).

As a first step in his plot for favouring the revival^e of Romanism, Charles now issued a "Declaration of Indulgence," suspending the laws against the Romanists and Dissenters. But the popular indignation roused by this was so great that the king began to fear he would lose his crown, so, when Parliament met and desired him to withdraw the "Declaration," he gave way. On this the Parliament passed the "Test Act," which excluded all Non-conformists—Protestants and Romanists alike—from official positions. The Catholic ministers, Clifford and Arlington, had to resign, and the king's brother, James, was also obliged to give up his post as Lord High Admiral, for he had become an avowed Romanist.

The downfall of the Cabal was followed by peace with Holland, and the appointment, as chief minister, of

Thomas Osborne, Lord Danby, who was a good Churchman and an enemy of France. The Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, who was heiress to the throne, was married to William of Orange, an arrangement which was very popular in England, for the young prince was a zealous Protestant, and had won great applause for his gallant resistance to King Lewis XIV.

Charles, however, continued to conduct secret negotiations with France, and some of these became known, and caused the downfall and imprisonment of Danby. For though the minister had only acted under the king's warrant (and was himself opposed to the schemes), the Parliament declared that "the king could do no wrong," and that the responsibility for his acts falls on the minister. Thus the theory of "ministerial responsibility" was proclaimed as part of the constitution.

The versatile and unscrupulous Earl of Shaftesbury, though lately a member of the "Cabal," had now become the king's deadly enemy, and was continually stirring up trouble, by warning the nation of Charles's desire for absolute power and for the establishment of Romanism. He had a large following, called the "country party," and found a tool in a disreputable clergyman named Titus Oates, who came forward and told of a Popish Plot, which he professed to have discovered.

This he declared to be a conspiracy of English Catholics to slay the king, introduce a French army into the realm, and to put James, Duke of York, the king's Romanist brother, on the throne. This was absurd, for Charles was the Catholics' best friend, and was plotting in their behalf himself. An outburst of frenzy

The
Popish
Plot

throughout the nation followed these disclosures, and every Romanist in England was denounced as a disciple of Guy Fawkes. The Parliament of 1679 was about to pass a bill excluding the Duke of York from the throne because he was a Romanist, when the king, to save his brother's rights, dissolved Parliament before the bill was passed.

One important measure had been carried before the dissolution—the *Habeas Corpus Act*—which prohibited any man's being kept in prison without a trial, an old right of British subjects which had been too often disregarded by arbitrary kings and ministers.

The second Parliament of 1679 was almost as much under the influence of Shaftesbury as the first. The nation was still in a state of agitation against Romanists, of whom many were being imprisoned or condemned to death on the perjured evidence of Oates and his followers.

Shaftesbury and his friends were proposing at this time to declare the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles, heir to the throne, in order to exclude the Duke of York. Monmouth was a zealous Protestant, and a very popular young man, who had lately won some military glory by putting down a rebellion of Covenanters in Scotland at the battle of Bothwell Brig (1679). But to make him heir to the throne would have been a manifest injustice to the Princess Mary of Orange, the Protestant daughter of the Duke of York.

In 1680 Shaftesbury again brought forward the Exclusion Bill, which declared James incapable of succeeding to the throne, and it was passed by the Commons but thrown out by the Lords.

It was at this time that the famous political names

which were to rule - England, for the next century and a half first came into use. The followers of Shaftesbury were called "Whigs," after a Whigs fanatical sect of Scottish Covenanters, while and the opponents of the Exclusion Bill, who Tories upheld the divine right of hereditary succession, were called "Tories," from the name of a horde of wild robbers who lurked in the bogs of Ireland. These words, which were at first mere nicknames bestowed in ridicule, were finally accepted in earnest, and became the usual denomination of the two great parties in English political life.

At last the reckless falsehoods of Oates began to be detected, to the discredit of Shaftesbury, and caused many of his supporters to fall away. The king seized his opportunity and accused Shaftesbury of treason for collecting armed followers to overawe Parliament, but a London jury refused to convict him. He then conspired with Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney to raise a rebellion, but, being detected, fled over seas to escape punishment. Some of his more desperate followers made a plot to assassinate Charles as he passed the Rye House in Hertfordshire on his way to Newmarket. The disclosure of this reckless The Rye House Plot conspiracy ruined the Whigs, and the king, profiting by the turn of public feeling in his favour, seized all their chief leaders and had them tried for high treason. Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney, although they had nothing to do with the Rye House Plot, were beheaded.

Charles was now actually in a better position to carry out his long-concealed plans, for setting up arbitrary government and furthering Romanism, than at any previous time in his reign. But as he was pre-

paring to renew his alliance with France and increasing his standing army, his schemes were suddenly interrupted by a fatal stroke of apoplexy on February 6, 1685. He was received on his deathbed into the Roman Catholic Church, of which he had been so long the secret partisan.

James of York, who succeeded his brother under the title of James II, was in many ways a better man than Charles. He was more conscientious and more courageous, and was sincerely attached to the religion to which he belonged. But he was obstinate and merciless, and entirely without judgment or tact in the way in which he pressed his schemes, and soon became detested by the greater part of his subjects.

His first act was to seek out the informers who had fabricated the "Popish Plot,"—Titus Oates and his followers,—who were barbarously punished. But the cruelty of the king's nature was only fully revealed to the nation by the way in which he put down an insurrection that broke out in the summer following his accession. It was led by the young Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles II, whom Shaftesbury had proposed (in 1680) to make heir to the throne in the place of James.

Monmouth, who was a vain and presumptuous young man, imagined that all England would rise to overturn a Romanist king if only a Protestant leader presented himself. Archibald, Earl of Argyle, the exiled chief of the Scottish Covenanters, tried to aid him by stirring up a rising in the Highlands, but no one joined him except his own clan, and after a few days he was beaten, captured, and executed.

Monmouth himself, who had been living in Holland, landed in Dorsetshire, where some thousands of country-

men of that county and Somersetshire flocked to his banner, though none of the gentry would join such a reckless adventurer. The king's troops easily defeated these half-armed insurgents at Sedgemoor (July 5, 1685). Monmouth, who had fled from the field and was trying to escape in disguise, was caught a few days later and sent to London, where the king, after raising vain hopes of pardon by granting him an audience, sent him to the scaffold.

Monmouth's fate roused little sympathy, for he had brought his troubles on his own head. But the cruel punishment that fell on the poor ignorant peasants who had followed him shocked the whole nation. Hundreds of rebels taken in arms were shot or hung by the brutal Colonel Kirke, while the barbarous Judge Jeffreys in the "Bloody Assize," as his circuit was called, "The put to death more than three hundred persons. Bloody after the barest mockery of a trial. One of the Assize " worst instances of his cruelty was the case of the aged Lady Lisle, who, for merely sheltering a fugitive from Sedgemoor, was beheaded.

Flushed by his victory, James promptly set to work to restore Romanism in the land. His plan was to fill all offices in Church and State with open or secret Papists, and to overawe the people by a large standing army ready to put down any resistance.

To give a show of legality to his actions a mock lawsuit was devised. The king appointed a Romanist, Sir Edward Hales, to the command of one of the new regiments that were being raised, and when "The Hales was prosecuted under the "Test Act" Dispensing for accepting a commission without taking Power " the test, a bench of judges picked by James gave judgment in favour of Hales. They declared that

the king possessed a "dispensing power," and had dispensed Hales from the test. After this James bestowed offices on Romanists on every side. They were made judges, colonels, sheriffs, lord-lieutenants, and mayors, in future none but Catholics could hope for preferment.

The king next proceeded to attack the Church of England, using his "dispensing power" to give Papists crown livings and the headships of colleges at Oxford. He even expelled the whole body of Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, for refusing to receive the president whom he had appointed.

To deal with things religious James revived the Court of High Commission, placing the infamous Jeffreys, now Lord Chancellor, at its head. A large army was concentrated at Hounslow Heath, to be under the king's hand if any sign of rebellion were shown in London.

But, although sorely tried, the nation required still further provocation before it rose against the king. James was an elderly man, and his heiress, Mary of Orange, was a firm Protestant, so the people reflected that the king must die before long, and his bigoted schemes would die with him.

James began to embark on his last fatal measures of arbitrary government in the spring of 1688. Without calling or consulting a Parliament he determined to issue on his own authority a "Declaration of Indulgence," which was to suspend all penal laws against both Romanists and Dissenters. He ordered that this Declaration should be publicly read by every beneficed minister of the Church of England. This command provoked even the most loyal Tories to resistance. When the appointed day

The "De
claration
of Indul
gence"

came round the clergy, almost without exception, refused to read the Declaration. The Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, and six other bishops, addressed a petition to the king, begging that they might be excused from having to issue such a document. James, in great anger, caused the seven prelates to be arrested and imprisoned in the Tower. A month later they were brought before the Court of King's Bench, on a charge of having published a seditious libel by sending their petition to the king, but the jury returned a verdict of "Not guilty." The news of their acquittal was received with an outburst of joy throughout the land, and even the king's own soldiery at Hounslow lit bonfires to celebrate the event.

The Trial
of the
Seven
Bishops

In the same month as the acquittal of the seven bishops a son was born to the king—an event which had a great effect on James's fate. His young second wife, Mary of Modena, was, like himself, a Papist, and the prospect of a Romanist succession to the throne filled England with dismay. The young prince was even declared by some to be no son of the king's, but a child adopted by him in order to cut out the Princess of Orange from the succession, and this groundless story received much credit throughout the country.

The birth of the Prince of Wales was immediately followed by the formation of a serious conspiracy to overthrow the king, and to invite William and Mary of Orange to come over and take his place. Leading men both of the Tory and Whig parties joined in this plot, and William of Orange, on receiving assurances that he would be supported, consented to raise an army and cross to England.

When the news of William's preparations reached

James he realised, too late, the universal discontent that prevailed throughout England and the weakness of his position. With cowardly haste he was ready to undo his whole policy of the last three years. He abolished the Court of High Commission, and made profuse promises to respect the rights and privileges of the Church of England for the future. But no one would now believe or trust him.

On the 5th November, 1688, William of Orange landed at Torbay and marched on Exeter. After a few days insurrections began to break out all over the country in his favour, and, when James advanced with his army to meet the enemy, his own troops began to desert him and go over to join the Prince.

Even those whom the king most trusted—his son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, husband of his younger daughter, Anne, and John Churchill, afterwards the famous Duke of Marlborough—absconded, and fled to the Dutch camp.

Seeing his army melting away, James hastily returned to London, and tried to enter into negotiations with the Prince of Orange. He sent off his queen and the little prince to France, and was endeavouring to follow them when he was stopped by the mob at Feversham, and forced back to the capital. But no one wished to keep him a prisoner, and with the secret connivance of William of Orange he was allowed to escape for a second time, and get away to France (December 18, 1688).

CHAPTER XX

WILLIAM AND MARY (1689-1702)

THERE was now no king to summon a formal Parliament, but William of Orange invited a "convention" to meet and deal with the question of the succession. In it sat the peers and all surviving members of the House of Commons who had been elected under Charles II. After some discussions, the prince having refused either to be appointed Regent in the absence of his father-in-law, or to allow his wife to accept the crown for herself alone, it was decided to offer the throne to William and Mary as joint-sovereigns with equal rights. But before this was formally done, the Convention proceeded to draw up the famous "Declaration of Rights," a document which contained a list of the main principles of the constitution of England which had been violated by James II.

It stated that the sovereign had no power to dispense with or suspend laws, that every subject had the right to petition the king and should not be molested for doing so (an allusion to the case of the seven bishops). It stipulated for frequent Parliaments, and declared that the raising of a standing army without the consent of the Houses was illegal, and finally stated that no levying of taxes or loans without the consent of the representatives of the nation was lawful. It also provided for the succession to the throne, which was to pass after William and Mary to her sister Anne and her children. But any member of the royal house professing Romanism, or even marrying a Romanist,

was to forfeit all claim to the crown. This "Declaration" was afterwards confirmed and made permanent as the "Bill of Rights"

William and Mary swore to observe the Declaration/ and were proclaimed on February 13, 1689. The queen Char- was an amiable, kindly, genial woman who acter of was very popular, not so her husband, who, William though a great general and statesman, was respected rather than liked, for he was cold, suspicious, and reserved, and never loved the English people or expected them to love him.

From his youth up the Prince of Orange had been possessed by one ambition, namely, to foil the policy of the bigoted and grasping King of France. Lewis XIV was set on annexing the Spanish Netherlands, the Palatinate and Lorraine, so as to bring his frontier up to the Rhine. He would have liked to make all the European states his vassals, and so great was his military power that it seemed not impossible that he might achieve his purpose. William had persuaded Spain and Austria to join him in a league against France, and in 1689 he induced England also to declare war on Lewis.

But troubles in England, Scotland, and Ireland were to take up the attention of the new king for a couple of years, before he could use the strength of English armies in the continental war.

In England the only opposition was that of a small portion of the Tory party, who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new king. These "Non-Jurors," as they were called, were removed from their offices, but made no open resistance. Among them was Archbishop Sancroft, the hero of the trial of the seven bishops, and four other prelates.

In Scotland the Presbyterian party had followed the example of the English in offering the crown to William and Mary, but a rising in favour of James took place in the Highlands. It found an able leader in John Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, who had commanded the royal forces in Scotland for the last ten years. In the narrow pass of Killiecrankie the Lowland troops, under General Mackay, were caught in a trap and swept back in disgraceful rout by the wild rush of the Highlanders. But Claverhouse himself was slain in the moment of victory, and the Jacobite party fell to pieces when his strong and able hand was removed (June 16, 1689). Although the insurrection lingered on for two years more in the Highlands, it was never a serious danger to William's government.

The wrecks of Dundee's followers were scattered at the skirmish of Cromdale in 1690. But a few Highland chiefs still refused their submission, and William proclaimed that there would be an amnesty for all who surrendered before Jan 1, 1692. All the Highlanders took advantage of this save Macdonald of Glencoe, a petty chief of two hundred families in Argyshire. He gave in his submission a few days later than the appointed date, and this was made the excuse for a terrible outrage. Lord Stair, the Secretary of State for Scotland, sent a regiment to Glencoe, which fell upon the unsuspecting Macdonalds, shot down the chief and all the men they could catch, and drove the survivors out of the valley. William had sanctioned this cruel massacre, but only because he was not told that Macdonald had made his tardy submission.

In Ireland the Romanists had been put into all

places of trust and power by James II., and the Lord Deputy, Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, armed the whole nation to resist William of Orange. The English settlers, seeing the danger of their position, either fled by sea or took refuge in the few towns Ireland where the Protestants had a majority. In Ulster, where they mustered most strongly, they shut themselves up in the towns of Derry and Enniskillen, proclaiming William and Mary as king and queen, and imploring aid from England.

In March, 1689, James II. landed in Ireland with a large body of French officers, as well as arms and money provided by Lewis XIV. He found himself master of the whole country except Derry and Enniskillen, and ordered the siege of those places to begin, while the Irish Parliament passed a bill of attainder, condemning to death a large number of the Protestant peers, gentry, and clergy who had not joined James.

The two towns held out with desperate resolution. Derry was only succoured after one hundred and five days, when a small fleet succeeded in bringing food to the starving garrison. The Protestants of Enniskillen saved themselves by an even more desperate exhibition of courage. Sallying out of the town, they beat the blockading force at the battle of Newtown Butler, and drove it away (Aug. 1689).

In October troops at last appeared from England, under the command of the Duke of Schomberg, a German general high in William's confidence. They sufficed to aid the Ulstermen, and in the following spring the king arrived in person with large reinforcements.

He advanced on Dublin and attacked James's army, which occupied a strong position behind the

river Boyne (July 1, 1690) William was completely victorious, and James fled, abandoning Dublin, and took ship for France. His deserted followers made a long resistance in the west. The Dutch general, Ginckel, who took command of the army when William returned to England, at last subdued Connaught and Munster, and forced the town of Limerick to surrender, permitting the Irish army to sail for France (Oct. 1691).

The
Battle
of the
Boyne

The "Pacification of Limerick" was signed by William's representatives, granting an amnesty to the Irish who did not emigrate, and leaving them in possession of the limited civil and religious rights which they had enjoyed under Charles II. These terms, however, were broken in the most faithless manner by the Irish Parliament a few years later, when it was entirely in the hands of the victorious Protestant minority. The Irish Romanists were subjected to a harsh penal code, under which they groaned for a whole century, but they had been so crushed by William that they never rose in rebellion till 1798.

The Paci-
fication of
Limerick

The war on the Continent against Lewis XIV continued throughout the early years of William and Mary's reign without any decisive result. The Tories in England were disaffected towards the new Government, and there were many who intrigued with James II and the French king. Among these were the best English soldier and sailor of the day—John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, and Admiral Russell. The latter, however, redeemed his character, and won a peerage by defeating the French fleet at La Hogue (1692), a victory which gave the British full command of the Channel and the northern seas.

The
French
War

In the Netherlands, William, whose forces were increased by troops from England, was defeated at two pitched battles, Steenkerke (1692) and Landen (1693). But he was so skilful in holding his ground after the engagements that the enemy gained nothing by his victories, while at Namur (1695) William achieved the greatest success of his life, taking by storm the strongest citadel in Belgium. After this Lewis XIV at last realised the failure of his efforts to conquer the Netherlands, and consented to treat with William. Peace was secured in 1697 by the Treaty of Ryswick, in which the ambitious King of France made terms with England, Holland, Spain, and Austria. He had to surrender all that he had gained in his wars, with the exception of Strasburg, and to recognise William as lawful King of England, although he still kept James II and his family as his guests at St Germain's.

Only four years later, however, war broke out afresh on the Continent, over the question of the succession to the throne of Spain. The rival claimants for the crown were Philip of Anjou, grandson of Lewis XIV, and the Archduke Charles, younger son of the Emperor Leopold. Feeling his end draw near, the King of Spain, Charles II, declared Philip of Anjou his heir, and when he died soon after, the young French prince accepted the throne offered to him by the Spanish Cortes, and was proclaimed as Philip V.

William dreaded the danger to Europe from the union of France and Spain, and was anxious that Great Britain should join Austria and Holland in a fresh alliance against Lewis XIV.

But the English politicians at this time were a set of self-seeking, greedy, and demoralised statesmen,

whose only interest lay in party warfare. Intrigues with James II., and even a conspiracy against the life of William, were proved against some of the leading Tories. Parliament might perhaps not have consented to make war on France if it had not been for an act of bravado on the part of Lewis XIV., who, on the death of James II., saluted his son, the prince born in 1688, as King of England. This was regarded by the English people as an unpardonable insult, after the agreement Lewis had made in the Treaty of Ryswick. Moreover, an "Act of Settlement" had recently been passed which decreed that after the death of William, who had lost his bright and able Queen Mary in 1694, the throne should go to her sister Anne. But as that princess's children had all died in youth, it was necessary to name an ultimate successor. Parliament selected a granddaughter of James I., the aged Electress Sophia of Hanover, who, being the nearest Protestant heir, was to succeed after Anne's decease.

Just as King William was seeing his schemes on the point of success, and preparing for a fresh war with his old enemy, he died suddenly, after a fall from his horse, at Hampton Court in 1702.

But his life's work had not been wasted, the Protestant succession in England was secured, and the new alliance to which the country had committed itself was destined to effectually crush the ambitious French king.

CHAPTER XXI

ANNE (1702-1714)

THE new sovereign, Anne, the second daughter of James II, was a simple, kindly woman, with no intelligence or ambition. Her husband was Prince George of Denmark, a dull and harmless man, who never took any part in the affairs of government.

For the last twenty years Anne had been completely under the influence of her chief lady-in-waiting, Sarah, Churchill, wife of the intriguing general who had betrayed James II in 1688, and conspired with him against William III in 1692.

The ascendancy of the Churchills over the new queen was shown at once by Anne's change of ministers. Dismissing most of the statesmen who had been in power under William, the queen filled their places with her favourites' friends, appointing Lord Godolphin, whose son had married Churchill's daughter, chief minister.

The great continental alliance which William had organised was completed by the new Government and Churchill's military ambition made him anxious to proceed with the war which William had begun. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the English and Dutch armies, and created Duke of Marlborough in 1703. Churchill had already shown himself an able general, but, now that the opportunity for displaying his powers was given to him, he revealed himself as far the greatest military man that England had ever known.

He was the founder of a new school of scientific

strategy, by which he would deceive and circumvent an enemy, gaining his victories by the skilful combinations that preceded the battle as much as by the actual fight. Great as were Marlborough's talents as a general, he was almost as notable as a diplomatist and administrator. He had all the gifts of a statesman. Suave, affable, patient, and plausible he continued to keep together and organise the allied armies, and induce their different commanders to combine in their operations.

His intellectual greatness makes his moral failings seem all the more lamentable, for the great general was a faithless intriguer, ready to sacrifice any sovereign or party to his own interests, and he was notorious for his greed and avarice, even in an age when bribery and corruption were common among statesmen.

The campaign of 1704 first displayed Marlborough's genius. He executed a great march from Holland into South Germany, where he was joined by a small army of Austrians under Prince Eugene of Savoy, and gained a decisive victory over the French and Bavarians at Blenheim, on the river Danube.

In the same year an English fleet under Admiral Rooke took by surprise the almost impregnable fortress of Gibraltar, "the Key of the Mediterranean," which has been an invaluable possession to England ever since.

Marlborough carried on operations against the French throughout the year 1705, and in the spring of 1706 won another great battle at Ramillies, which gave him possession of the whole of Belgium.

The armies of King Lewis suffered reverses in the same year both in Spain and Italy, and the French king sued for peace. The allies unfortunately refused

the reasonable terms he offered, and their obstinacy met a well-deserved retribution for in 1707 the fortune of war turned in favour of the French. In the following year, however, Marlborough triumphed again at Oudenarde, in Flanders, and captured the great frontier fortress of Lille.

Lewis was again driven to ask for peace, and was again repulsed by the harsh reply of the allies, who demanded that he should not only surrender his grandson's claim to his Spanish inheritance, but should send an army into Spain to evict King Philip if he refused to evacuate that realm. At the cost of great sacrifices the old King of France resumed the contest, and collected another army, which faced Marlborough in Flanders in 1709.

The duke, however, won a victory over the last French army at Malplaquet, though it was dearly bought by a great loss of men. The allies then advanced into France, and began to besiege the fortresses of French Flanders and Artois.

The only important event of domestic politics which occurred at this time was the celebrated "Union with Scotland" in 1707, which permanently united the crowns and parliaments of the two nations of Britain. The "Act of Settlement" had only provided for the succession to the English throne, and early in Anne's reign there seemed to be a grave danger of the separation of the two crowns on the queen's death. The Godolphin ministry made a resolute attempt to bring about a permanent union of the two kingdoms, giving pledges for the security of the Scottish Kirk and the perpetuation of the Scottish law-courts and universities. The Union Bill was then passed in the Scottish Parliament, and

for the future Scotland was represented in the United Parliament of Great Britain by forty-five members of the Commons and sixteen representative peers. The arms of England and Scotland were blended in the royal shield, and in the new British flag—the “Union Jack,” the white saltire of St Andrew and the red cross of St George were combined.

The Tories had been gradually regaining power, for the nation was, in spite of all Marlborough's victories, weary of the French war, and the Whig government had offended the religious feelings of many English Churchmen by their attempts to secure toleration for the Dissenters. A certain Tory divine, Dr Sacheverell, preached violent political sermons against the Whig protection of Dissenters, abusing the ministers in ribald terms. For this Godolphin foolishly had him arrested and tried by the House of Lords, who suspended him from his clerical functions for three years. Demonstrations were going on throughout the country in his favour, when it was suddenly announced that the queen had dismissed her ministers, and summoned Harley, the head of the Tory party, to form a new government.

Queen Anne's action was mainly due to personal causes. She had at last rebelled against the tyranny of the Duchess of Marlborough, whose influence over her had been unbounded for so many years. Even the gentle and placid Anne had come to resent the rude and overbearing manners of the duchess, and when she had found a new favourite in Mrs Masham a cousin of the Tory leader, Harley, she summoned resolution to dismiss the duchess, and at the same time to change her ministers (1710).

Shortly afterwards Marlborough himself was re

called from his last campaign in France, and his post as commander-in-chief of the English army was given to a Tory peer. On his return serious charges of misappropriation of money were brought against him, and it was proved that while in command in Flanders he had taken large bribes and presents from the Emperor Joseph and from the army contractors. These revelations blasted the duke's character, and he was forced to leave England and retire to the Continent.

In 1712 Harley, who had been created Earl of Oxford, brought his negotiations with France to a close, and the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713. By this agreement England acknowledged Philip V as King of Spain and the Indies, while France and Spain recognised the Protestant succession in England, and agreed not to aid "the Pretender," as the young son of James II was now called.

Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the land round Hudson's Bay were yielded to England by France, and Spain gave her the island of Minorca, and acquiesced in the English possession of Gibraltar.

The Tory party had now to face the problem of the succession to the throne, which the queen's failing health showed to be imminent. If James Stuart had been willing to change his religion, or even make a pretence of doing so, the Tory party and the queen would have accepted him as heir to the throne, but the Pretender was a rigid Romanist, and would not make the slightest concession on the religious point. The Tory party therefore was divided. Harley, the Prime Minister, with his followers, would not lend himself to a scheme for delivering England over to a Romanist. But there was another section of the party who were

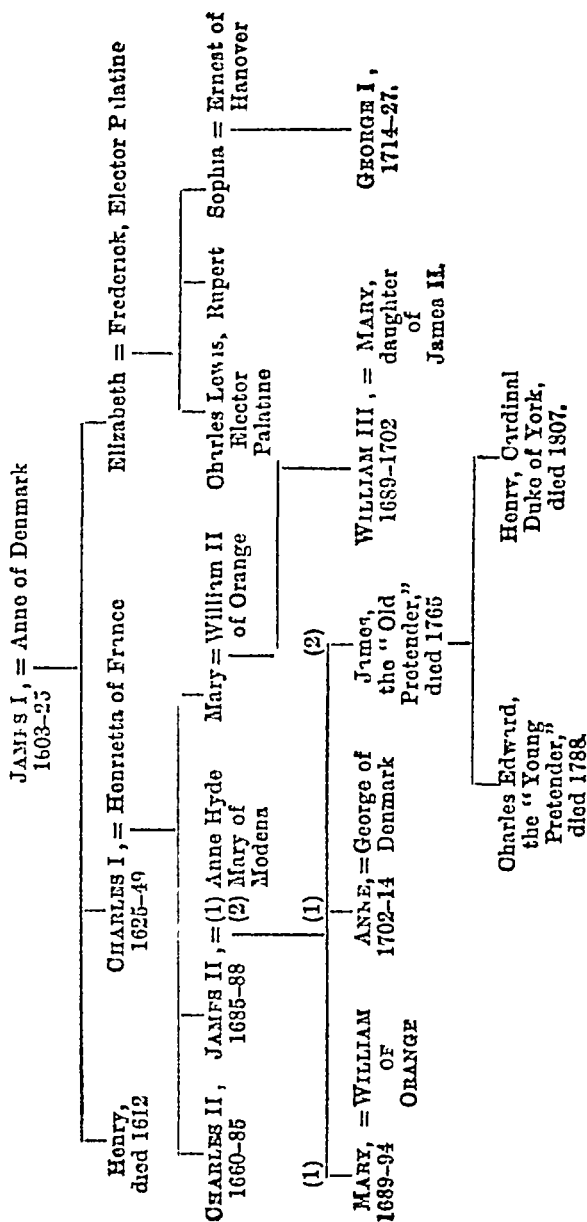
not so scrupulous, and would have done anything to keep the Whigs out of power. Their leader was Henry St John, Viscount Bolingbroke, one of the two Secretaries of State. This brilliant and ambitious adventurer contrived to expel Harley from office by bringing forward the "Schism Act"—a persecuting measure against the Dissenters to prohibit them from keeping or teaching in schools. Harley would not support this bigoted proposal, therefore Bolingbroke supplanted him in his office and in the queen's favour.

He set to work to prepare for a Jacobite restoration, while the Whigs in alarm entered into communication with the Protestant heir to the throne, George of Hanover, whose aged mother, the Electress Sophia, was just dead, and vowed to secure the crown for him.

Civil war seemed imminent. But the new ministry had only been in power a few days when Queen Anne was stricken with a mortal sickness. While she lay ill, several privy councillors of the "Hanoverian" party presented themselves at the meeting of Bolingbroke's cabinet and claimed the right to sit in it. They called in all the other privy councillors, a majority of whom were Whigs or moderate Tories, so that Bolingbroke was unable to carry out his plans for summoning the Pretender.

The queen died that night (August 1, 1714), and the Privy Council at once proclaimed the Elector as King George I. Bolingbroke left the country, declaring that if he had had six weeks for preparation he would have given England another sovereign.

THE HOUSE OF STUART



CHAPTER XXII

THE HANOVERIAN KINGS AND SIR ROBERT WALPOLE

GEORGE I. (1714-1727) GEORGE II. (1727-1739)

GEORGE, Elector of Hanover, who now became King of England, was a selfish, unamiable, uninteresting man of fifty-four. He was intensely German in all his ideas and prejudices, he could not speak a word of English, and had not the slightest knowledge of the political and social state of the kingdom he was called upon to govern. His sole idea was that the Tory party was committed to Jacobitism, and that he must rely entirely upon the support of the Whigs.

With the accession of George I began "Cabinet" government in England. The old theory that the sovereign selected as his ministers those men who would serve him best, without reference to their party, no longer continued. Instead, the party which had a majority in Parliament now chose his ministers for the king, and the "Cabinet," or united body of ministers, became responsible both to the king and the parliament for the ruling of the country. As George understood neither English politics nor the English language, he was obliged to let all things remain in the hands of the Whig statesmen who had placed him on the throne. The Whig party was now led by four able men—the Earl of Sunderland (Marlborough's son-in-law), Earl Stanhope, a general of some reputation, Lord Townshend, and Sir Robert Walpole, the cleverest of them all. The strength of the party was drawn from three sources. The first was the intense

The Whig
Party

Protestant feeling in England, which made men resolve that the Pretender should never obtain the throne. The second was the support of the mercantile classes, for whom the Whigs had done much in the course of the late war, concluding favourable commercial treaties with their continental allies, and furthering the colonial expansion of England. The third mainstay of the Whig party was their Parliamentary influence, they had a majority in the House of Lords, and continued to rule the Commons by a mixture of corruption and coercion. There existed in England many "Crown Boroughs" "crown boroughs," which were on land and belonging to the king, and were so much "Pocket Boroughs" under his influence that their members were practically chosen by him or his ministers. Moreover, the great peers had many "pocket boroughs" in their power—that is to say, boroughs where their local influence was so strong that they could rely on returning to Parliament any one they chose to nominate. Many of these "pocket boroughs" were also "rotten boroughs"—places that had been important in the Middle Ages, but were now decayed into mere hamlets, yet they had as many representatives in the House of Commons as Yorkshire or Devon.

The crown and the great peers were now acting together, and the result was an overwhelming majority for the Whig party in the House of Commons.

The Jacobites, who had seemed so near to triumph in Bolingbroke's short tenure of power, did not yield without an appeal to arms. The death of The Lewis XIV deprived them of a powerful ally, Jacobites for his successor in power, the Regent Philip of Orleans, who ruled for his infant cousin, Lewis XV, refused to risk any step that might lead to a war with

England. Nevertheless, Bolingbroke and his master, the Pretender, persevered.

It was arranged that the Duke of Ormonde was to lead a rising in Devonshire, while Lord Derwentwater and Mr Forster, a rich Northumbrian member of Parliament, were to stir up the northern counties, and a third rising was to take place in Wales. In Scotland the Earl of Mar undertook to gather a number of the Highland clans together, while some of the lords of the Border were to raise the Lowlands.

In September 1715, the royal standard of Scotland was raised at Braemar, and immediately an army of 5000 or 6000 Highlanders was at the disposal of the Earl of Mar. In the Lowlands, and in Northumberland also, the Jacobites gathered themselves together according to their promise. But the insurrections in Devonshire and Wales never were commenced, for the Whig government at once sent most of its troops to the West, and arrested the chief Jacobites of those parts, so that the Duke of Ormonde found no support.

The rebellion in the North, however, was formidable, and for a time it seemed that the throne of George I was in great danger, for the army available against the insurgents was less than 10,000 strong. But the mistakes and feebleness of the Jacobite leaders sufficed to wreck their enterprise. The first ^{The} engagement in the north was at Preston, ^{Battle of} where Forster allowed himself to be sur- ^{Preston.} rounded by a small force of cavalry, under General Carpenter, and tamely laid down his arms after a slight skirmish, although his men outnumbered the regulars by three to one. He and the Earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale and their chief supporters were sent prisoners to London.

Meanwhile, Mar had gathered an army of 10,000 men, and the whole of the north of Scotland was ready to support him, but he hesitated to leave his hills, and failed to move south of the Tay. The Duke of Argyle, head of the great Whig clan of the Campbells, held Stirling with an army of 4000 men, ready to oppose the Jacobite advance. At last **Battle of Sheriffmuir** Mar marched south, and Argyle met him at Sheriffmuir, where an indecisive battle ensued (November 1715). The Jacobite army returned in a mutinous and disorganised condition to Perth. Here James Stuart, who had lingered over-long on the Continent, at last appeared among them. He was a slow and ungenial young man, with a melancholy face and hesitating manner, who failed to inspire his followers with the enthusiasm which he did not himself possess. The Highland chiefs quarrelled among themselves, and their men began to melt away to their homes. When Argyle, with reinforcements from England, advanced northward, James deserted his army and took ship for France, and the remnant of Mar's once formidable host disbanded themselves. Thus ended in ignominious failure the great rising of "the Fifteen."

The Whigs took no very cruel revenge on the insurgents. Two peers, Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure, were beheaded, and about thirty persons of meaner rank hanged. The Earl of Nithsdale and Mr Forster escaped from prison, or they would also have been executed. As the years went by most of the Jacobite chiefs were pardoned and returned to England. Even Bolingbroke was allowed to come back from exile in 1722.

A second attempt was made by the Pretender to

raise a rebellion (1719) in Ross-shire by the aid of some Spanish troops. But no general rising took place, and the whole Jacobite force was easily dispersed or captured by Carpenter, the victor of Preston, at the battle of Glenshiel.

The remainder of George I's reign was a time of peace, with the exception of a short war with Spain in 1718-20, during which an English fleet under Admiral Byng destroyed a Spanish squadron off Cape Passaro. The King of Spain and his able minister, Cardinal Alberoni, wished to seize the old Spanish dominions in Sicily and Naples, which they had lost by the Treaty of Utrecht. But they found themselves unable to cope with Austria, France and England, who were allied against them, and Spain made an ignominious peace in 1720 after she had failed to stir up Scotland by the abortive rising of 1719.

The Stanhope and Sunderland cabinet was overthrown in 1721, having become involved in a great financial panic known as the "South Sea Bubble." The South Sea Company was a trading venture for developing commerce with Spanish America and the countries of the Pacific, and its directors had induced the ministers to hand over to them the management of the "National Debt," that is to say, the money lent to the Government during the last sixty years by private persons, and bearing interest. The South Sea directors had, however, attempted more than they could perform, and the suspension of their company led to the downfall of the cabinet, which had taken the enterprise under its patronage. The financial crisis was made more grave by the simultaneous bankruptcy of many other companies, for speculation had been rife of late and the fall of the great South Sea

Company brought down many other ventures, most of which were equally destitute of solid foundations

The other section of the Whig party now came into office, under the Prime Minister who was to rule England for the next twenty-two years—Sir Robert Walpole

He took back the charge of the National Debt from the South Sea Company, and by confiscating the estates of its fraudulent directors obtained enough money to pay its debtors, so that the financial crisis proved less disastrous than had been expected

A knowledge of finance was indeed the one statesmanlike talent possessed by Walpole. He was a wealthy country gentleman from Norfolk, with no knowledge of foreign languages or of continental politics, and with a low standard of morality, on which he acted himself and expected to find other men act. The phrase "every man has his price" well expresses his political methods. His one end was to keep himself in office, and he was ready to buy the support of any member of Parliament, either by giving him office or preferment, or by a sum of hard cash. He obtained influence over the king by granting him liberal supplies of money, and he became also completely master of both Houses of Parliament

His position was so firmly established that when the king died in 1727, while absent in Hanover, and his son George II wished to turn Walpole out of power, he was unable to do so, for no one else would undertake to construct a cabinet, so for fifteen years more the new sovereign was constrained to keep his father's old minister

George II, though no genius, was a man of greater force of character than George I. He was a busy, con-

sequential, irascible little king, who took an interest in foreign politics, and was vexed by Walpole's persistence in keeping out of all continental wars. He would gladly have taken a part in them, being a keen soldier who had served with some distinction in Marlborough's campaigns in the Low Countries. His queen, Caroline of Anspach, was a clever woman, who knew how to win popularity both for her husband and herself.

For the first twelve years of George II's reign Walpole went on ruling the country in the same unostentatious way as before, refusing to be drawn into the continental wars of the Polish Succession, in which Austria was defeated by France and Spain. The union of these two powers was a danger to England, indeed, from 1733 onward they were allied by a secret treaty called the "Family Compact," between Lewis XV of France and his uncle Philip V of Spain, one of whose main purposes was to curb the naval domination of Great Britain.

The old pretensions to a monopoly of all trade with South America, which were still asserted by the Spanish government, caused great indignation among the English merchants, who were eager to open up new lines of commerce in the Pacific. Public feeling throughout England ran very high against Spain, and at last was roused to fury by the story of a merchant captain named Jenkins. This man complained that his ear had been cut off by a Spanish coastguard, who had arrested him for illicit trading. The Opposition in Parliament made such capital of this outrage, and fanned the popular indignation to such a pitch, that Walpole, very reluctantly, was forced to declare war on Spain (1739).

CHAPTER XXIII

THE GREAT WARS WITH FRANCE, AND THE
ELDER PITT (1739-1760)

As a matter of fact the war was necessary and wise. The expansion of England's commercial and colonial power had brought her into collision with France and Spain, and if she was to retain her control of the commerce of the world, she was bound to fight for it.

It was unfortunate that the war began while Walpole was still minister, for he would not throw himself heartily into it, grudged spending money, and refused to undertake any serious operations.

The first expedition he sent out took Porto Bello, one of the chief harbours of South America, but a second armament in 1741 failed disastrously before Cartagena. Walpole was bitterly attacked in Parliament for his lack of success, and early in 1742 he was defeated in the House of Commons, and forced to resign. He retired into private life, and died three years later.

Another Whig ministry succeeded to power under the nominal leadership of Lord Wilmington. The real chiefs of the party were Lord Carteret, an able diplomatist with a vast knowledge of European politics, and the two Pelhams—Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, and his younger brother Henry.

The new ministry had to face a much larger problem in European politics than the mere struggle with Spain. The "War of the Austrian Succession" had just broken out, and was convulsing the whole of the Continent.

In 1740 died the Emperor Charles VI., who was the last male of the House of Hapsburg. He had determined that his vast dominions should pass after him to his daughter, Maria Theresa, and had drawn up a document called "The Pragmatic Sanction," by which she was recognised as his heiress. The Powers of Europe were induced by various concessions to guarantee this settlement. The Elector Charles of Bavaria alone refused to acknowledge it, for his wife daughter of the emperor's elder brother, had, on the principle of hereditary succession, a better claim to the Hapsburg inheritance than her young cousin, Maria Theresa.

On the emperor's death it was seen how little the promises of most of the European Powers were worth. All the neighbours of Austria seemed ready to lay claim to some of her dominions. The first to move was Frederick II., King of Prussia, who on the pretext of ancient rights to the duchy of Silesia, threw himself on it, overran it, and swept the armies of Maria Theresa before him (1741).

France and Spain now took the part of Charles of Bavaria, who was chosen emperor by a majority of the Electors. France aimed at getting possession of the Austrian Netherlands, and Spain wanted the Italian duchies of Milan and Parma. When Maria Theresa appealed for aid to England, Lord Carteret responded at once by promising her a large subsidy, and by sending an army of English and Hanoverian troops to her help. George II. placed himself at the head of this force, and won the battle of Dettingen (1743). Further successes followed this victory, and the Emperor Charles was obliged to call for peace. Carteret, who had gone to Germany after the king,

called together a congress at Worms, at which the "Pragmatic Sanction" was guaranteed by England, Holland, Sardinia, and Saxony

On his return to England, Carteret lost his place at the head of the ministry, being overthrown by his jealous colleagues, the Pelhams (1744), and furiously criticised by a young politician named William Pitt, who was destined to become the greatest man of his day. Henry Pelham thus became Prime Minister, and held the post until he died in 1754, when his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, succeeded him

The war with France and Spain continued, but without the same success as before. The allied armies did not act well together, and their want of co-operation led to the loss of the battle of Fontenoy (1745), where the English troops, under the command of George II's younger son, the Duke of Cumberland, were sacrificed by the slowness and slackness of their Dutch and Austrian allies. At this moment the greater part of the English army was suddenly called home to face a new and unexpected danger. Charles Edward Stuart,

The Re- son of the Old Pretender, a reckless, ad-
bellion of venturous, romantic young prince, landed in
1745

Scotland with a handful of followers to stir up a Jacobite rising. No preparations had been made, and it was only his personal charm and enthusiasm that induced the Highland clans to join him. He was soon at the head of a gallant but disorderly little army, led by the chiefs who belonged to the old Jacobite party

The Pelham Cabinet was greatly alarmed, for nearly all the English army was over-seas in Flanders. A small force of 3000 men—all that could be collected—was entrusted to General Cope, and directed to march

against the Highlanders Charles Edward, however, by a rapid march south, avoided Cope and seized Edinburgh, where he proclaimed his father king, and held his court at Holyrood Palace He then advanced on Cope, and defeated him at the battle of Prestonpans (September 1745)

If the prince had pursued his advantage, and gone forward immediately into England, he might perhaps have even taken London at the first rush, for there were no troops between him and the capital But a delay of five weeks was fatal to his cause The English regiments from Flanders, under Marshal Wade and the Duke of Cumberland, were hastily brought back, and soon were ready to oppose his advance

Moreover, the Jacobites of the north of England did not rise as had been hoped, and though the Young Pretender marched as far as Derby, he recruited no new followers, and found his Highland troops melt away homeward, driving off the cattle they had lifted. He therefore turned back and retreated to Scotland At Falkirk he inflicted a sharp defeat on the vanguard of the royal troops But the English now advanced in large numbers, and Charles Edward retreated before them as far as Inverness At Culloden Moor Battle of Culloden, 1746 the final battle was fought, resulting in a complete triumph for the Duke of Cumberland, who, however, tarnished the glory of his victory by the savage cruelty he displayed after it

A price of £30,000 was set on the head of Charles Edward, who lurked for five months in the West Highlands before he could find a ship to take him to France, passing through countless perils and adventures, and owing his safety to the heroism of many of his unfortunate followers.

This was the last appearance of the Stuarts in English politics. Charles Edward paid a secret visit to Britain in 1750, but found that there was no hope of raising a second insurrection. On his father's death, in 1765, he proclaimed himself as Charles III., but never made another attempt to recover the crown. He died in 1788, leaving no son to succeed to his pretensions, and with his brother Henry, a cardinal of the Roman Church, the male line of the Stuarts expired in 1807.

The English Government dealt very hardly with the insurgents of "the '45." Three Scottish peers—Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat—were executed, and many scores of men of less note were hanged or shot. Parliament passed a series of bills for weakening the Highland clans and sapping their loyalty to their chiefs. A few years later, however, William Pitt took the wise step of turning the military energy of the Highlanders into patriotic channels, and raised several of the kilted regiments that have distinguished themselves since on so many British battlefields. By the end of the eighteenth century Jacobitism had faded away into a romantic sentiment.

The war with France and Spain dragged on for three years more, under very indifferent management on both sides. The Duke of Cumberland suffered a defeat at Laufeldt in 1747, but the French had fared badly on the Rhine and in Italy, so all parties were ready for peace. The Treaty of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) was concluded in 1748, with the assent of all the Powers who had been engaged in the War of the Austrian Succession. Maria Theresa had to acquiesce in the loss of Silesia to Frederick II of Prussia, and made some smaller concessions to Spain, but the remainder of her vast dominions she main-

Treaty of
Aachen.

tained intact, while her husband, Francis of Lorraine, was acknowledged as emperor in succession to Charles of Bavaria, who had died in 1745

The question of the colonial and commercial rivalry of England, France, and Spain remained unsettled. Another and a greater war was required later to decide it. It was during the war of the Austrian Succession that the English and French first engaged in hostilities in India. The great empire of the Moguls in Hindustan was falling to pieces, and the European traders, who had settled in Southern India, saw their profit in the weakness and dissensions of the viceroys, or "nawabs," who were making themselves independent of the Great Mogul at Delhi. The rivalry between the English and French East India Companies, who supported rival native princes, led to fighting, in which the French under Dupleix, a man of great energy and far-reaching views, gained a decided superiority. But the Treaty of Aachen stipulated the mutual restoration of conquests, and the English received back the settlements on the coast of the Carnatic which had been wrested from them by the French.

For eight years after the Treaty of Aachen there is nothing in the political life of England to relate. The Pelhams were only anxious to keep things quiet and to preserve themselves in office, and they silenced opposition by giving places in the Cabinet or the public service to any one who might have made himself dangerous to them. Even the eloquent and energetic William Pitt was kept on their side for a time, by the gift of the lucrative post of Paymaster of the Forces.

The most interesting feature in this rather stagnant period of the eighteenth century was the rise of a new

religious movement The government of the Whigs had been anything rather than favourable to the well-being of the Church of England But a stir
 John Wesley began with the "Methodist Movement," of which John Wesley, a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, was the originator He devoted himself to evangelical work and public preaching, rousing an interest in spiritual things and an impulse towards religious life such as had not been since the days of early Puritan enthusiasm

The Church of England at this time was in a deplorable condition of deadness and unspirituality, and its leaders opposed Wesley until he was (although a strong Churchman at first) driven into schism, and became the founder of a new Nonconformist body His work, however, was not without its effect inside the Church of England Many who sympathised with him remained Churchmen, and from them came the Evangelical or Low Church party within the Establishment To Wesley and his contemporaries is due a decided improvement in the moral life of the country political corruption and ostentatious evil-living began to be less common, and an increased humanity towards prisoners, paupers, and slaves, and an improved tone in literature and the drama testified to the growth of a higher standard of morality But this did not become well marked till the third quarter of the eighteenth century was far advanced

In 1756 England was plunged into the Seven Years' War, which was destined to settle all the points which had been left undetermined by the Peace of Aachen, and to give to this country the empire of the seas and the lion's share of the commerce of the world.

The Seven Years' War had two sides, the Colonial

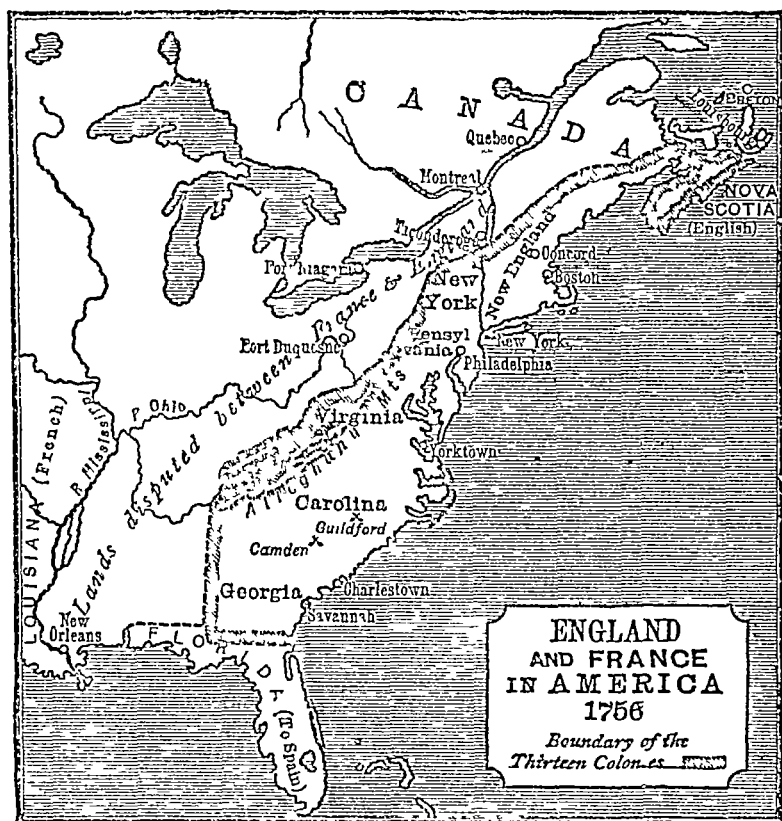
and the European, and it was in India that the first hostilities broke out. The French governor, Dupleix, who had raised an army of the natives of India (called sepoys), employed it for the furtherance of French interests in the southern part of the peninsula. A war of succession had broken out in each of the two great native states which were neighbours to the European settlements on the Coromandel coast. Dupleix employed his disciplined battalions to settle the fortune of war in both these kingdoms. He set his ally, Mozuffier Jung, on the throne of Hyderabad, and raised the rebel minister of the Carnatic, Chunda Sahib, to be ruler of that land.

Dupleix thus became master of Southern India, as these two native rulers were mere creatures of his own, overawed by his military strength. The English settlers in Madras viewed the power of the French with dismay. But the hour of need brought forward the man who was able to reverse the whole position of affairs. Robert Clive, a young clerk in the East India Company's service, became a captain in the Company's army, and with a few hundred men dashed at Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and seized it, in spite of the opposition of an army of the Chunda Sahib's, numbering 10,000 men (1751).

Clive was then entrusted by the Madras Council with all their disposable troops, and by a series of successful fights he finally recovered the whole of the Carnatic for Mohammed Ali, the claimant to the throne whose cause the English had espoused. Dupleix was recalled in disgrace by the French Government, while with the establishment of the English suzerainty over the realm of the Carnatic began the British Empire in India.

The struggle between England and France was going

on also in North America, where the French emigrants in Canada and Louisiana laid claim to the whole Mississippi valley, which the English settlers of the Thirteen



Colonies regarded as their future inheritance. The first fighting brought a series of disasters for the English. A party of Virginian militia under Major George Washington was beaten at Great Meadows in 1754, and in the following year General Braddock, with a

force of 2200 men, of whom part were British regulars, suffered the same fate. War, however, was not actually declared between the mother countries until 1756, after the seizure of some French ships by Admiral Boscawen. It opened with new disasters, for Montcalm, the French commander in Canada, captured several of the British frontier forts.

In the autumn of 1756 a great struggle, with which England had no concern, began on the Continent of Europe, where Maria Theresa had formed a coalition of many Powers—France, Russia, Sweden, and Saxony—against Frederick II of Prussia, whom she had never forgiven for robbing her of Silesia. Alone among a host of enemies, Frederick was desperately in need of an ally, and as England was now at war with France, it was obvious that she should join with Prussia against their common foe.

On every side the Seven Years' War opened with misfortunes for the English, the most serious being the loss of Minorca, our one great possession in the Mediterranean, which was then to the English fleet what Malta is now. The island was attacked by a French squadron and army, and when the British fleet came up to relieve it, its commander, Admiral Byng, finding that the enemy's ships outnumbered his own, refused to fight, and fled away to Gibraltar. The deserted garrison of the island was forced to surrender.

The loss of Minorca aroused a popular outcry in England against the mismanagement of the war and the feeble ministry of the Duke of Newcastle. Admiral Byng was tried by court-martial and shot on the charge of disobedience to orders and criminal weakness (1756).

On the fall of Newcastle a fresh Whig ministry was

formed, under William Pitt and the Duke of Devonshire Pitt was the one statesman of the day who commanded the confidence of the nation, because he was the only one whose reputation was free from the stain of political corruption He was an able, eloquent man, and the advocate of a vigorous colonial and commercial policy

Unfortunately, he did not command a majority in Parliament, and therefore in April 1757 a curious compromise was arranged, by which the Duke of Newcastle became Prime Minister again, taking Pitt as his colleague, and giving him a free hand in the management of the war and all foreign policy, while he himself retained power over parliamentary management and patronage

The first operations on the Continent were unsuccessful, the Duke of Cumberland, with his usual ill-fortune, suffering a defeat at Hastenbeck, and being forced to sign the Convention of Closterseven, by which the Hanoverian army laid down its arms Frederick of Prussia, however, saved the situation by a wonderful campaign in which he routed the French at Rossbach and the Austrians at Leuthen (1757)

A fresh army for service in Germany was raised by Pitt, which was commanded by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and won the battle of Crefeldt in 1758 The great minister now negotiated large loans for war expenses, part of which was paid to Frederick of Prussia, whose aid was invaluable in distracting the forces of France and preventing her from sending reinforcements to Canada

The next year, 1759, was fertile in successes The naval strength of France received its final blow in two decisive battles At Lagos Admiral Boscawen took or

destroyed most of her Mediterranean fleet, and at Quiberon Admiral Hawke vanquished her Atlantic fleet. In the same year a great victory in Germany was gained by Prince Ferdinand at Minden.

Pitt had fitted out expeditions for Canada under the command of young and able generals. In 1758 an advance was made along the whole front of the French possessions in America. Fort Duquesne, in the south, was seized by a force of colonial militia, and in the north Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, the fortress which commanded the mouth of the St. Lawrence, was captured by Admiral Boscawen and General Wolfe. Only in the centre of the advance was a reverse sustained—by General Abercrombie, at Ticonderoga, where Montcalm had collected a force to bar the advance of the British up the Hudson.

In the following year Pitt had sketched out an advance on Canada from three sides. General Amherst took Ticonderoga, and another expedition captured Fort Niagara, while the main blow was struck in the north, where Pitt's favourite officer, the young General Wolfe, won the battle of Quebec.

The city of Quebec was very strongly placed, protected on two sides by the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles. Wolfe made a hazardous flank attack in the night and seized the "Heights of Abraham" above the town, and on the following day defeated Montcalm in a decisive battle (September 13, 1759). The French commander was mortally wounded, and Wolfe himself was struck down in the hour of victory, and died on the field. But the battle of Quebec had conquered America for England.

Battle of
Quebec

In the following year Amherst surrounded the French Viceroy, De Vaudreuil, at Montreal, and received the

surrender of the entire province of Canada Britain now possessed the whole North American continent, from the North Pole to the boundary of the Spanish province of Mexico

Events of importance had also been happening in the East The opening of the Seven Years' War had in India, as elsewhere, been marked by disasters for the English The Nawab of Bengal, a cruel young tyrant named Suraj-ud-Dowlah, had suddenly fallen upon Calcutta and seized it, in June 1756 He thrust all his prisoners, one hundred and forty-six persons — officials, merchants, soldiers, and women — into a small dungeon known as the "Black Hole of Calcutta," not more than twenty feet square, where all save twenty-three died of suffocation during the night.

When the news of this horrible crime reached Madras, Clive was entrusted with the task of avenging it He took a small force up the river Hooghly, and recovered Calcutta, and then by the epoch-making victory of Plassey obtained for England the rich realm of Bengal. He appointed Mir Jaffar (the Nawab's minister, who had gone over to the English during the battle) ruler of the province, as a vassal of the East India Company

At the same time, the English armies in the Carnatic were making an end of the remnants of the French power in India In 1760, Sir Eyre Coote routed the last French army at Wandewash, and before another year was over Pondicherry and the other strongholds of the enemy were in his hands

While England was thus triumphant alike in Europe, India, and America, and Pitt at the height of his glory, the king, George II, died suddenly, in his seventy-eighth year (1760).

CHAPTER XXIV

GEORGE III. Part I —(1760-1789)

THE KING AND THE WHIGS THE WAR OF THE
AMERICAN REBELLION

THE death of the old king made an instant change in the national politics, both at home and abroad. He was succeeded on the throne by his grandson, whose father, Frederic, Prince of Wales, had died some years before. The young George III had been brought up almost in seclusion, under the guidance of his ambitious mother, Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, who continually exhorted him that when he came to the throne he ought to "be king," to rule his ministers and not allow himself to be guided and led by them.

This resolution to take the chief share in the governance of the country is the main characteristic of George III. He was a man of simple tastes, virtuous in his private life, and sincerely religious. He had no great brain power and was very obstinate, with the obstinacy of a well-meaning man who believes that he will be doing wrong if he gives up his own opinions.

When George came to the throne he won all hearts by his good temper and affability, and above all by his English habits and prejudices, which were contrasted favourably with the German tastes and language of the two first Georges. One of his earliest utterances after his accession was to say that he "gloried in the name of Briton," a phrase which pleased everybody.

The king's first occupation was to draw to himself followers, who should help him to carry out his schemes. The "King's Friends," as they were called, included the

remnant of the Tory party, who were attracted by his good churchmanship, and now finally surrendered their old Jacobite tendencies

Soon after his accession George insisted that Pitt and Newcastle should take as partner in the ministry Lord Bute, a Scottish peer of respectable character and moderate abilities, who had been his mother's trusted adviser, and had acted as his tutor in the days before he came to the throne

Bute at once began to oppose the policy of his colleagues, greatly to the detriment of the interests of Britain, for Pitt's vigorous policy was still bearing the best of fruits. The ministers of France began to make overtures of peace, which Bute wished to accept. But Pitt had secret knowledge that the kings of Spain and France were proposing to renew the "Family Compact" of the Bourbons for the checking of English maritime supremacy, and he therefore advised that the struggle should be continued and preparations made for war with Spain. The king openly gave his support to Bute, and Pitt was forced to resign the office which he had held for five years with much credit and distinction (October 1761)

Newcastle clung to his place till May 1762, and then was forced by constant rebuffs and insults to follow Pitt, while the king made his favourite, Bute, chief minister of the realm

The war with Spain, which Pitt had foreseen, broke out, but that country had sunk so low that she was capable of giving but little help to France. The able generals and admirals, whom Pitt had discovered and promoted, defeated the Spanish armies and fleets, and seized two of her greatest colonies—Havanna, the capital of Cuba, and Manila, in the far East. At the

same time Admiral Rodney captured most of the French West Indian islands

This brought the enemy to his knees. The peace that the French sued for was granted by the Treaty of Paris (1763), by which France ceded to England the whole province of Canada and certain West Indian islands, and Spain gave up to us the peninsula of Florida. Both countries, however, received back much that they had lost and had no power of recovering, so that the peace was not received with enthusiasm in England, where it was complained that Pitt would have secured much better terms. The Peace of Paris

Yet the treaty made England supreme in America and Hindostan, and ratified her permanent ascendancy at sea. Never at any previous peace had England won so much, or brought a war so triumphantly to a close.

Bute now withdrew our armies from Germany, shamefully deserting our useful if unscrupulous ally, Frederick of Prussia. That monarch, however, proved able to hold his own against Austria, and to bring the Seven Years' War to a successful close by the Treaty of Hubertsburg in 1763. But he never forgave the desertion of England, or would ally himself with her again.

The political enemies of Bute now assailed him on all sides, and he felt unable to bear the odium which his position as a court-minister, disliked by the nation and by Parliament, brought upon himself. To the great regret of his royal master he laid down the seals of office in April 1763.

The king, though strong enough to overthrow ministries, was not yet able to set up and maintain them. On Bute's retirement, therefore, another Whig

ministry succeeded to power, under the leadership of George Grenville, a narrow-minded statesman, who sought to strengthen his position by allying himself to the Duke of Bedford, the head of another of the great Whig parties

The best-known action of Grenville's cabinet is the prosecution of John Wilkes, a scurrilous journalist and member of Parliament, who had made abusive comments on the royal speech of 1763 in his newspaper, the *North Briton*. For this he was illegally seized and imprisoned by Grenville under a "general warrant," issued not

John
Wilkes against Wilkes by name, but against "the authors, printers, and publishers of No 45 of the *North Briton*." He was acquitted when put on his trial, under the plea that he had been illegally arrested. "A general warrant is no warrant at all, because it names no one," was the decision of the Chief Justice, and Wilkes therefore posed as a victim of arbitrary government, and obtained great popularity with the people of London, although he was a man of infamous character. He had soon after to fly the country on account of a fresh prosecution for publishing a blasphemous and immoral poem.

George Grenville committed another error in judgment whose effects were to be of far-reaching importance. To him we mainly owe the loss of America. Seeking for new sources of revenue, he carried a bill through the House in 1765 which asserted the right of Parliament to tax the colonies, and prescribed in particular that certain stamp duties on legal documents were henceforth to be paid by our North American colonies. The proceeds were to go to maintain the British troops quartered among them.

The Stamp Act was bitterly resented by the in

habitants of America, and all the thirteen colonies which lay along the coast from Massachusetts to Georgia united to resist it. The grounds of their opposition were expressed by a favourite maxim of William Pitt, that "there should be no taxation without ^{The} representation"—that is, that any persons ^{Stamp} taxed ought to be represented in Parliament, ^{Act} and allowed a share in voting their own contributions.

George Grenville's schemes were for the time overthrown by the action of George III, who bade his party of eighty or ninety "King's Friends" vote against him, and combine with the Opposition Whigs to turn him out of office (1765).

The new Whig cabinet, led by the Marquis of Rockingham and Duke of Grafton, at once repealed the Stamp Act. But a year later the "King's Friends" voted against this Government, and Rockingham was obliged to lay down his seals.

The next ministry was formed under Pitt, who now became Earl of Chatham, and the Duke of Grafton. But Pitt's powers were failing, and in less than a twelvemonth he was stricken down by illness, and the cabinet passed entirely under the control of his colleague, the Duke of Grafton.

This administration renewed the attempt to tax the colonies, which had been suspended since the repeal of the Stamp Act. A bill was brought into Parliament for raising duties in America on tea, glass, ^{New Taxa-} paper, and printers' colours. The whole was ^{tion in} to bring in about £40,000 a year—a small sum ^{America.}—but, like the Stamp Act, this measure distinctly affirmed the right of England to tax her colonies without their consent. The Americans were exasperated by this principle of taxation, and the colonies

drew together in their determination to resist it. Serious riots in Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, showed that the temper of the people was roused. The Grafton ministry, however, did not see the end of the matter. Several causes combined to overthrow their administration.

John Wilkes, who had returned from the Continent, stood for the county of Middlesex and was elected. The cabinet declared that his old outlawry disqualified him from sitting in Parliament, and he was expelled from the House. The county of Middlesex again elected him, and this time Grafton pronounced that the defeated opponent of Wilkes, who had received only 300 votes, was the legitimate member. This unjust action roused public feeling. It was said that liberty was at an end, if ministers could appoint members of Parliament in defiance of the votes of the electors. At the same time an able but malignant writer, who signed himself "Junius," attacked the ministry in a series of political letters, which excited great interest throughout the country. Pitt, too, whose health was so far recovered that he was able to appear in the House of Lords, vehemently denounced the misconduct of American affairs. In his moment of distress Grafton was abandoned by the "King's Friends," and was obliged to resign.

The next Prime Minister was Lord North, who consented to act entirely under the king's orders, so that for the next twelve years George himself ruled the nation according to his own ideas.

The scheme for taxing America was proceeded with. The imposts on glass and paper were remitted, but that on tea remained, and this persistence roused the colonists to open violence. Riots in Boston were responded to by Lord North's passing unwise and

arbitrary bills closing the harbour of that city, and depriving the state of Massachusetts of its charter, so that it should in future be ruled by officials from England. This "Massachusetts Government Bill" broke down the patience of the Americans. A "General Congress" was summoned by all the colonies at Philadelphia, which set forth in a "Declaration of Rights" the points on which the liberties of the colonies had been infringed, and also forbade Americans to purchase any goods imported from the mother-country.

Soon after open war began. An attempt of the governor of Boston to seize a depot of arms collected by the colonists, led to a skirmish at Lexington (1775) between the Massachusetts militia and a small body of British troops. This was the beginning of a general war. All the colonies sent their militia into the field, and the Congress at Philadelphia named George Washington commander-in-chief.

Outbreak
of War

No choice could have been better. Washington had a good military reputation from his services in the French war, and was a man of energy and integrity, who was respected and willingly followed by the eager but undisciplined bands of the colonists. Before he reached the seat of war a battle had been fought at Bunker's Hill, outside Boston, where the British troops, under General Gage, were victorious after a very stiff combat, but lost so heavily that they made no further attempt to prevent Boston from being blockaded by the colonists.

A last attempt at a peaceful settlement was tried by the Congress, which sent "the Olive Branch Petition" to London, but the British Government returned it unanswered, as coming from a body that had no legal existence,

The small regular army of Great Britain, 40,000 men scattered all over the world, was unable to cope with so great a rebellion. While new troops were being raised in Britain and hired in Germany, the Americans had all their own way for a year, and Boston had to be evacuated next summer.

The Congress now took the decisive step of throwing off allegiance to England by publishing the "Declaration of Independence" (July 14, 1776)

When the English reinforcements arrived under General Howe, they gained a victory over Washington at Brooklyn and seized New York. But the land was everywhere hostile, and when Howe began to distribute his men in small scattered garrisons, Washington swept down upon these isolated regiments and destroyed them. The English general was forced to halt, and send for further reinforcements. George III. had set his heart on the subjection of America, and at once sent fresh troops to Howe, who then won the battle of Brandywine over Washington, and took Philadelphia.

Another expedition under General Burgoyne had landed in Canada, with orders to attack the colonists in the rear. But this failed lamentably. The British force was exhausted by the long march across the wilderness that divided Canada from the States, and when it was surrounded at Saratoga by the militia of the New England colonies, and outnumbered by two to one, Burgoyne, after hard fighting, laid down his arms with 5000 starving men. The news of the surrender of Saratoga had the most disastrous consequences. France and Spain resolved to attack England in order to shatter her commercial and colonial supremacy, and the war became no longer a local struggle between the mother

country and her colonies, but a general contention all over the world for the same prize which had been disputed in the Seven Years' War—the empire of the sea. England now stood alone, for Frederick II of Prussia, our old ally, remembered Bute's treachery in 1763, and would give no help.

The aged William Pitt came down to the House of Lords to speak in favour of reconciliation with America at all costs. He urged that we should not fight our own kith and kin, but turn our forces against the foreign foe. After an impassioned harangue, he fainted, and was carried home to die (May 1778).

Death of
Chatham.

Ere long the French sent a fleet and army, as well as money and supplies, to America, and by the end of 1778 New York was almost the only stronghold left in the hands of King George's troops.

But the war was not yet over. Shifting their ground, the British, under Lord Cornwallis, invaded the southern states, Georgia and Carolina, where the loyalist party was known to be stronger than in the north. Many colonists joined them, and victories were won over the American army at Camden (1780) and Guildford (1781). These successes encouraged Cornwallis to push on further. Having secured the southern provinces, he invaded Virginia, where he defeated the Americans under La Fayette, a young French officer. But long marches and incessant fighting had worn out his army, and he dropped down on Yorktown, a seaport at which the British fleet was ordered to meet him with food and reinforcements. But a hostile fleet instead of a friendly one appeared off Yorktown, under Admiral de Grasse, who had met and driven off the British squadron. At the same time

Surrender
of York-
town

Washington, with a powerful American army and 6000 French, appeared on the land side, so that Cornwallis was caught in a trap between two foes. After a desperate attempt to break through the American lines, he was forced to surrender (October 1781).

This disaster was but one of a series of defeats suffered in all corners of the empire, while at home too matters were looking very dark.

The Irish, in the absence of any regular army, began to agitate for the parliamentary freedom of Ireland and the repeal of "Poyning's Act," which subjected the Irish to the British legislature in Ireland. So threatening was the situation that in 1782 Home Rule was granted to them, and for eighteen years the Irish legislature was completely independent of Great Britain.

Some time before this there had been trouble even in London. A series of riots against Romanists were led by a fanatical, half-crazed member of Parliament, Lord George Gordon. The mob gave itself up to plunder and arson, and the ministry and magistrates showed a strange weakness before this outburst of anarchy. It was King George himself who came forward to call out the troops and act against the mob and restore order.

Two great victories at this most critical moment saved the British Empire (1782). Admiral Rodney inflicted a crushing defeat on the French fleet at St. Lucia, which restored English maritime supremacy in the West Indies. The other triumph was nearer home. General Eliott successfully defended Gibraltar for four years against a great French and Spanish fleet and army, beat off their last desperate attack in September 1782, and was finally relieved by a squadron under Lord Howe.

Lord North had been forced to resign six months before the relief of Gibraltar. The king was compelled to yield to his enemies, the Whigs, since his own policy had proved so disastrous, and to call them back to power. Their new cabinet, under Lord Rockingham, was able in April 1783 to make peace with the united colonies of America, conceding them complete independence.

In September both Spain and France also consented to treat, granting comparatively easy terms. So, by the Treaty of Versailles (1783) was ended the disastrous war of American independence. Florida and Minorca were ceded to Spain, and several West India islands to France. But our Indian possessions remained intact, and Gibraltar was saved. The fruitless struggle of eight years, into which the king's obstinacy had led England, not only cost her the loss of the great western empire of the thirteen American colonies, but left her in a state of humiliation and exhaustion, such as had not been known since the fifteenth century.

In the years which followed the Peace of Versailles the incurable factiousness and self-seeking of the Whig faction once more became evident. On the death of Lord Rockingham in 1782, Lord Shelburne took office. His ministry, which only lasted nine months, was remarkable chiefly for bringing to notice the young William Pitt, son of the Earl of Chatham, who, though only twenty-three years of age, held the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. He soon showed that he was the most remarkable man of his age. He had high principles, with an enthusiastic belief in the future of England, combined with a hatred of all intrigue and bribery.

Shelburne's cabinet fell before a disgraceful

combination of the old Tories and of the discontented Whigs, and the "Coalition Ministry" took its place. This included Lord North and Charles James Fox, an able and open-minded man, who lacked, however, the integrity of character and unselfish patriotism of his great rival Pitt. Honest men were shocked by the union of these two statesmen, who had spent the last seven years in calling each other hard names. The Coalition Ministry was overthrown by the action of the king himself, who disliked a bill for the government of India brought in by Fox, and used his influence to prevent its being passed by the House of Lords. George then offered the position of Prime Minister to William Pitt, who dissolved Parliament, and found after the elections that he had obtained a clear working majority, because of the general disgust which had been caused by the immoral alliance of Fox and North. Thus at the age of twenty-four he entered on his eventful ministry, which was to last for seventeen years.

Pitt is often called a Tory, but his policy was far from being of the character hitherto associated with that name, for he was a true reformer, and a man of most enlightened views. He found the country in the depths of the depression caused by the American war, and he has the credit of restoring the prosperity of English finance. First of all our statesmen, he had studied the laws of wealth and the working of commerce between one nation and another, and he was convinced that Free Trade was the true policy of England. A commercial treaty was concluded with France, which took off many prohibitive duties and increased the trade between the two countries.

Home manufactures were developed into great

importance at this period, especially in the northern counties, Yorkshire and Lancashire, which became the greatest industrial centres of the realm. The discoveries of Watt and Arkwright helped forward the growth of manufactures. Watt introduced the use of steam for setting machinery in motion, and Arkwright perfected the details of that machinery. Agriculture was also developed, so that the landholding classes shared in the prosperity of the manufacturers. At the same time canals and roads all over the country were constructed, along which a vastly increased volume of trade was borne.

The first ten years of Pitt's rule were a time of peace at home and abroad. He carried out many domestic reforms, and dealt wisely and liberally with the colonies. But perhaps the most important of all the measures of the years 1783-92 are those dealing with India. After Clive's conquest of Bengal and the final rout of the French, the East India Company went on extending its power, and gained the control of all North-Eastern India. Lord Clive became the first Governor of Bengal, where he effected many reforms among the English officials, and left the army and civil service much reformed and purified, when his health forced him to leave the country in 1767.

In 1773 a new era began for our Indian possessions, when a Governor-General was appointed with the command of all the three Presidencies—Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. The first man placed in this office was the greatest who has ever held it—Warren Hastings the able and undaunted Warren Hastings in India. For twelve years he maintained the glory of the English name in India, though he had to face the storm of the American war, which shook the foundations of the

British Empire in every part of the world. On the outbreak of the war with France in 1778, he easily captured Pondicherry and the other settlements of that nation, but found a dangerous enemy aroused against him by the French. This was Haider Ali, a military adventurer who had usurped the throne of Mysore.

Hastings was already involved in a war with the Mahrattas, and to obtain funds for withstanding the invasion of Haider Ali he had recourse to harsh measures against the native princes, who were vassals of the Company. The struggle ended in a complete triumph for Hastings after the battle of Porto Novo, won by Sir Eyre Coote over the Mysore army in 1781. But when the great Governor-General returned to England in 1785, instead of receiving a peerage and the thanks of the nation he found himself called upon to stand a trial for his dealings with the Indian princes. Sir Philip Francis (who was suspected of being the author of the "Letters of Junius"¹) was his bitter enemy, and Fox and Burke, the leaders of the Opposition, lent their aid to Francis, hoping by the disgrace of Hastings to bring discredit on Pitt. After a trial lasting six years, Hastings was acquitted on every point, but he was ruined by the expenses of the law and died a disappointed and unhappy man.

Lord Cornwallis, the general who had led the British forces in the end of the American war, was appointed Governor-General after Hastings. Henceforth the country was ruled with a new constitution after the "India Bill" passed by Pitt in 1784, the political, but not the trading, functions of the East India Company had been put under the control of the home Government.

¹ See p. 172.

Cornwallis made many reforms and changes in the government of India. He also waged a successful war with Tippoo Sultan, the son of Haider Ali, and after a victory in front of Seringapatam, took from him nearly half of the dominions of Mysore (1791). After acting as Governor-General for six years (1786-93) he returned home, to find England engaged in a far more desperate struggle than he had seen in India—her great contest with the French Revolution.

CHAPTER XXV

GEORGE III. Part II.—(1789-1815)

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND WITH NAPOLEON

THE younger Pitt had been Prime Minister for five years, and had done much to raise Great Britain from the condition of exhaustion in which she had been left by the War of American Independence, when he was distracted from his peaceful work of reforming the finances and administration of the realm, by the appearance of new troubles on the Continent.

In the year 1789 there were seen the first symptoms of the outbreak of the great French Revolution, the rising of the middle classes and peasantry of France against the narrow and oppressive "bureaucracy" of royal ministers and officials, by which the realm had been misgoverned for the last hundred and fifty years. Fired by splendid ideals of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," the educated classes in France had now

been chafing for some time against the stupid and corrupt government to which they were subject. Their opportunity lay in the fact that the king, Lewis XVI, was weak and well-intentioned, and that his incapable ministers had landed the realm in a state of bankruptcy. In 1789 Lewis called together the "States General," the national parliament of France, which had not met for nearly two centuries, to lay before them the deplorable condition of affairs, and to ask for their aid. He had meant them to deal merely with matters of financial and administrative reform. But they were set on something much more sweeping—the destruction of absolute monarchy in France, and the setting up of the sovereignty of the people.

The beginnings of the great Revolution in France were watched with eager interest and sympathy in this country. At first it was believed that France was on the way to become a limited monarchy, and obtain a constitution like that of England. But when after a time the Revolution ended in the establishment of a Red Republic, and developed into hideous excesses of assassination, judicial murder, and atheism, the English people were shocked, and the government began to pass stern and repressive laws to prevent the spread of French Republicanism, with all its anarchy and recklessness in bloodshedding, into our own land.

When the King of France, Lewis XVI, was sent to the guillotine after a mere pretence of a trial (January 1793), Pitt withdrew the English ambassador from Paris, and began to prepare for fighting the French Republic. It was the French, however, who actually declared war (February 1793). The struggle thus begun was to continue, with two short intervals, till July 1815.

England's naval supremacy enabled her to seize most of the outlying French colonies, and to blockade the naval arsenals of Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort, so that the French navy could seldom get out to sea. The only important naval battle of the early years of the war was that on "the glorious first of June" 1794, when Lord Howe defeated the Brest fleet when it ventured out into the Atlantic.

Austria, Prussia, Spain, Holland, and Sardinia were all united with England against Revolutionary France, and England's army being but a small one, her part in the war on the Continent was chiefly that of supplying liberal subsidies to the military powers.

But one expedition of 20,000 men was sent to Flanders under the Duke of York, the second son of George III, a most incapable commander, who was defeated, driven across Holland, and finally forced back on Hanover (1793-94).

Another failure was at Toulon, which the English were defending in aid of the French Royalists, but the town fell into the hands of the Republicans after a short siege, mainly owing to the ability of a young artillery officer, Napoleon Bonaparte.

During the early part of the war the French had been enduring the "Reign of Terror" under the ruthless Robespierre, but when he had been put to death by his enemies (July 1794), an attempt at a settled government was made in 1795, under a Directory, composed of five ministers. With this body Prussia and Spain made peace, acknowledging the Republic of France. Holland had been overrun by the French armies, and was now forced to become the ally of her conquerors. So of the coalition of European powers only England, Austria, and Sardinia remained to fight against France.

In 1797 England was left entirely alone Napoleon Bonaparte had just completed his first great campaigns in Italy and stood victorious The dominions of the Sardinian king were completely overrun, and Francis of Austria had been forced to make the Treaty of Campo Formio, surrendering Lombardy and Belgium as the price of peace

For the next three years the safety of England hung on the power of her navy to oppose a threatened invasion. The battle of Cape St. Vincent, won by Admiral Jervis, crushed the Spanish fleet, and that of Camperdown (October 1797) destroyed that of the Dutch These victories were the salvation of England, for during the remainder of the war the French often threatened invasion, but were never able to get command of the Channel. Indeed, the moment of greatest danger to the country had been in the spring of 1797, when the underpaid and overworked crews of the Channel and North Sea fleets mutinied Pitt wisely redressed their grievances, and the sailors returned to their duties before the enemy had discovered his opportunity, or realised that the seas were for the moment unguarded.

A fresh source of trouble had arisen in Ireland, where the government under the Home Rule Parliament was entirely in the hands of a small Protestant minority, whose rule was harsh and arbitrary The discontented majority were excited by the French Revolution, and an association was formed called the "United Irishmen," in which the oppressed Romanists joined the Protestant Dissenters Led by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a young nobleman of republican views, and Wolfe Tone, a violent party pamphleteer, they entered into communication with the French, who in

1796 sent over an expedition to aid a projected insurrection. But a hurricane wrecked and dispersed the French fleet, and its leaders, Hoche and The Grouchy, never landed in Ireland. The Irish Government took the harshest measures to prevent the projected rebellion, which broke out, nevertheless, in 1798. The chiefs of the "United Irishmen" were arrested, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald was killed in a struggle with the police, who seized him for want of leaders there was no organisation in the rising, which was easily put down in the North. But great bodies of the insurgents roamed about the country in the South of Ireland, attacking all loyalists and committing many atrocities. A decisive battle at Vinegar Hill ended the rebellion, and a summary vengeance was taken by the triumphal loyalists, who were now called Orangemen (from their devotion to the memory of William of Orange) for the ferocious acts of the rebels.

The Great Rebellion of 1798 led to the legislative union of England and Ireland. Pitt and Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, devised two schemes for bettering the state of the land. The Romanists were to receive "Emancipation," that is, equal rights with their neighbours of the Church of Ireland. At the same time an end was to be put to the Dublin Parliament, and the Irish members incorporated in the Parliament of Great Britain. After much persuasion, and the bestowal of many bribes, the Anglo-Irish Protestant aristocracy was induced to give up its National Parliament, and the "Act of Union" was passed in 1800. For the future Ireland was represented by thirty-two peers and a hundred commoners in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Pitt now desired to carry through

his scheme of Catholic Emancipation, but, as we shall see, he was not destined to accomplish it

Meanwhile the French war had taken another turn. Having failed to win command of the seas or to cause rebellion in Ireland, the French Directory tried a fresh scheme for injuring England. Napoleon Bonaparte, the young general who had conquered Italy in 1796-97, was now the first man in France, and he had a project for creating a great empire in the Levant. From thence he hoped to be able to seize India, which he regarded as the chief source of England's wealth.

He started from Toulon (1798) with an army of 30,000 men and descended on Egypt, gaining possession of that country from the Turks within a few weeks. The English Mediterranean fleet, under Admiral Nelson, had pursued Bonaparte, but arrived too late to prevent his disembarking. Finding the French squadron in Aboukir Bay, Nelson destroyed it utterly at the Battle of the Nile, thus cutting off Bonaparte's communication with France.

Undaunted by this disaster the French general then crossed the desert and attacked Syria. He won a victory over the Turks at Mount Tabor, but was brought to a standstill when he laid siege to Acre. A small English squadron under Sir Sidney Smith gave active help to the besieged, and so harassed the French that they were forced to raise the siege and return to Egypt.

Here Bonaparte received news which roused his ambition. Pitt had organised a coalition of Austria + Prussia and Russia against France: their armies were everywhere defeating the French, while the Directory was quite unable to keep its foes at bay. Bonaparte seized the opportunity. Abandoning the army of Egypt, he slipped away to France, crossing the Mediterranean in a small ship which ran the gauntlet of the English fleet,

In Paris he brought accusations of mismanagement against the Directory, easily succeeded in dethroning that body, and dispersed the "Council of Five Hundred" by force of arms. He then established a new constitution, which was in reality, though not in shape, a military despotism, over which he ruled with the title of First Consul (November 1799) *The French were*

Bonaparte promised to save France from the Coalition, and taking his army across the Alps by the Pass of the Great St Bernard, he descended into Italy and defeated the Austrians at Marengo (1800). In Germany General Moreau won an equally brilliant victory at Hohenlinden later in the same year. The Emperor was thus forced to make the peace of Lunéville and acknowledge Bonaparte as ruler of France. The Czar Paul of Russia also made terms with the First Consul and thus England was again left alone to continue the struggle with France. *Turkish Government*

Even in India the influence of Bonaparte had been felt, for he stirred up Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, to attack the Madras Presidency. But Lord Wellesley, the new Governor-General, dealt promptly and sternly with him. Tippoo was defeated in battle and driven back to die at the storm of his capital, Seringapatam (1799). It was at the siege of this city that Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, first distinguished himself.

In 1801 the French army which Bonaparte had left behind him in Egypt was defeated and expelled by a British force under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the country was restored to the Turks.

Bonaparte was exasperated by these checks, and now tried to stir up trouble for England in the North. He induced Russia, Denmark, and Sweden to make a compact of "Armed Neutrality," to exclude English

trade from the Baltic. An English fleet at once sailed to Copenhagen, and, by a great battle in which nearly all the Danish fleet was sunk by the energy of Nelson, forced Denmark to abandon the "Armed Neutrality". At this moment the Czar Paul of Russia was murdered by conspirators, who detested his tyranny and cruelty, and his son Alexander made peace with England, and withdrew from his French alliance (April 1801). Thus all Bonaparte's schemes were frustrated. ✓

Just before the battle of Copenhagen England had lost her great Prime Minister, Pitt, who resigned on a point of honour. He wished, as we have seen, to carry a bill for Catholic Emancipation, as part of his scheme for pacifying Ireland, but George III. refused his assent to it. Pitt had pledged himself to help the Irish Romanists, and when he was unable to do this he retired from office in March 1801.

His successor, Henry Addington, was a man of little ability, who had, however, the merit of carrying on Pitt's policy. The old king, who had already once lost his reason for a few months, now again went mad, and for the rest of his life was subject to recurring fits of insanity, which at last became permanent.

Bonaparte now offered to make peace, and his proposals were eagerly accepted by Addington and welcomed by the English nation, weary of the long stress of war.

A treaty was signed at Amiens in March 1802 with France, Spain, and Holland. Bonaparte agreed to withdraw the French armies from Naples, Rome, and Portugal, and made his allies, the Dutch and Spaniards, abandon to England the rich islands of Ceylon and Trinidad.

On the other hand, his title as First Consul was

recognised by the English Government, and all the French colonies conquered by the English, from Martinique in the west to Pondicherry in the east, were restored to France

The First Consul's objects in concluding the Peace of Amiens were purely selfish and personal. He wanted to organise the control of France over the vassal states in Holland, Italy, and Switzerland, which she had acquired in the late war, and he proposed to rebuild the ruined French navy. In a few months he began to show his ill-will toward England in various ways, and at last openly insulted the English ambassador, Lord Whitworth. Addington took alarm at these hostile actions, but tried to negotiate with the First Consul for the maintenance of peace. His efforts were vain, however, and in May 1803 war was again declared.

Bonaparte now committed a flagrant breach of international law, by seizing and imprisoning some 10,000 English travellers and tourists who were passing through France on business or pleasure. He had the cruelty to keep them imprisoned until the end of the war.

The First Consul had now revealed himself as a tyrant, who aimed at building up a European empire like that of Charles the Great. In the long war that followed, he struck down at one time or another every continental government that dared to withstand him, but England he could never subdue, although all his efforts were directed against this country.

Bonaparte's first resolve was to invade England. He stationed 120,000 troops on the coast, fixing his headquarters at Boulogne, and collected thousands of flat-bottomed boats to transport the host across the Channel. From June 1803 till September 1805 his troops waited, ready to start when the signal should be given.

The nation faced this trial with wonderful courage. Almost every able-bodied man in England and Scotland offered himself for service in the great *Volunteer Movement*, and by the autumn of 1803 there were 347,000 volunteers under arms, besides 120,000 regular troops and 78,000 militia. The Government also displayed great activity in strengthening the fleet. A sign of the national enthusiasm for a vigorous war policy was the recall of Pitt, with the consent of the king, to the office of Prime Minister.

While Bonaparte was preparing for the invasion of England, he was using his influence to raise up enemies against her in all parts of the world. A rash young revolutionary named Emmett was encouraged by him to attempt a rebellion in Ireland. He caused a riot in Dublin, and his horde murdered the Chief-Justice, Lord Kilwarden, but he was seized and hung before he could stir up further trouble.

Another of Bonaparte's intrigues was in India, where French military adventurers induced some of the powerful Mahratta princes to quarrel with the English. But Lord Wellesley, the most able and vigorous Governor-General since Warren Hastings, was able to cope with this attempt, and his brother, the young General Arthur Wellesley, won brilliant victories at Assaye and Argaum. In 1804 the Mahratta chiefs sued for peace, and the East India Company extended its borders as far as Delhi, and added the province of Orissa to Bengal.

In 1804 an abortive Royalist conspiracy against the First Consul gave him the opportunity of assuming a higher and firmer position in the State, and he prevailed on the Senate to beg him to take the title of Emperor. In May 1804 he forced the Pope to come

from Italy to preside at the coronation, at which he assumed the name of Napoleon I.

The difficulties of the invasion of England, while the Channel was in possession of the English navy, began to be apparent to the emperor, and he therefore determined to compel the Spanish Government to lend him the aid of its fleet. The King of Spain, anxious to keep out of the struggle, sent a contribution of money, but the ships which bore the treasure were seized by an English squadron, and Pitt promptly declared war on Spain.

Napoleon proposed to use the Spanish fleet along with his own to gain control of the Channel, and under their protection his great army was to cross and invade England. In the spring of 1805 this great blow was to be struck. The emperor had prepared a complicated scheme, by which the French Mediterranean squadron was to join the Spaniards at Cadiz, and then go across the Atlantic to the West Indies. This was intended to draw away the English to follow them, and thus leave their own coast undefended. The French and Spaniards were to come back from the West Indies at full speed and seize the command of the Channel, in the absence of the English fleet, and so Napoleon would get the opportunity of taking his host across to the shores of Kent and Sussex. This ingenious plan was baulked by Nelson, who, though he failed to overtake the enemy's fleet, yet was able to detect their plan, and send a warning to the Admiralty. So when the French commander, Villeneuve reached the Bay of Biscay on his return from the West Indies, he met a squadron under Admiral Calder which fought him off Cape Finisterre. Villeneuve now wrecked the emperor's plans by his indecision. He

retired into Spanish ports, and before he was ready to come out and carry out the rest of Napoleon's scheme, Nelson had arrived and joined Calder, so the opportunity of getting control of the Channel was past.

The emperor was enraged at the failure of his project, and wrote a letter of angry reproach to Villeneuve. The admiral felt so bitterly the charge

Battle of
Trafalgar,
Oct 21,
1805

of cowardice that Napoleon brought against him, that he came out of Cadiz at once to attack Nelson, and suffered a crushing defeat off Cape Trafalgar. This battle was the most

decisive naval triumph that England had ever gained, no less than nineteen hostile ships out of thirty-three having been taken or destroyed. In future Napoleon never ventured to attack her by sea, and the danger of invasion was ended. But the victory cost the life of the gallant Nelson, who was laid low by a musket-ball ere the fight was half over, though he lived long enough to know that the day was won.

Even before Trafalgar was fought, the French army had quitted the shores of the Channel and marched for the Danube. Pitt had been returning to his old policy of finding continental allies for England, and stirring them up against France. Austria and Russia both had good reasons for detesting Napoleon, and were easily drawn into a new coalition, they received large subsidies from the English Government. Rumours of

Battle of
Austerlitz

this alliance having reached Napoleon, he declared war at once, and struck first at

Austria. He crushed and captured her main army under General Mack at Ulm, and then defeated the Austrians and Russians together at Austerlitz (December 1805).

The Emperor Francis II had to accept the most

king had been goaded into declaring war on France, and had called in the Russians to his aid. Within a few weeks he had annihilated the Prussian army at Jena and seized nearly all the Prussian fortresses (October 1806).

The emperor then pushed on to meet the Russians, against whom at the battle of Eylau he for the first time in his life failed to gain a decisive victory. But four months later he routed the Czar's army at Friedland, and imposed the Treaty of Tilsit upon his enemies. Russia was only forced to promise aid against England, but Prussia was absolutely crushed. Half her territory was taken from her to make a "kingdom of Westphalia" for Napoleon's brother Jerome, the Prussian fortresses received French garrisons, and an enormous fine was imposed upon the mutilated kingdom.

Napoleon now devised a new scheme for harming England, which was set forth in the celebrated "Berlin Decrees" (November 1806). He ordained that neither "The Continental System" in France nor in any of its subject states (Prussia, Holland, Spain, and Italy) should any goods made in, or imported from Britain, be used, hoping by this blow to destroy the prosperity of his enemies. The English Government replied by "Orders in Council," which declared that the whole coast-line of France and her allies was in a state of blockade, and that the war vessels of England would seize as prizes all ships trying to enter their ports. Napoleon then issued the "Milan Decrees," ordering that all British merchandise found on the Continent should be confiscated and burnt, and that neutral ships which traded with England should be excluded from all his harbours. Thus the "Continental System," as the emperor's plan was called, formally closed all the ports of Europe, for he had persuaded Russia also to fall in with his wishes. But the

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Napoleon had by this treacherous and unjustifiable action involved himself in the longest and most exhausting war in which he was ever engaged. The Spanish people, though their government was corrupt and their army very feeble, were filled with a patriotic and fanatical hatred of the invaders. Their resistance to Napoleon was a truly national rising, and the news of it was hailed with joy by the English, who resolved to send an army to the Peninsula to aid the insurgents against the French.

In the month of July (1808) a French force in Spain was obliged to capitulate at Baylen, and in the following month the English army under Sir Arthur Wellesley inflicted a crushing defeat on the army of General Junot at Vimeiro, in Portugal.

After this disaster the French general was glad to make an agreement (the Convention of Cintra), by which he gave up Lisbon and all Portugal in return for being granted a safe passage back to France.

Napoleon now descended on Spain himself, with his "Grande Armée" of nearly 250,000 veterans, and soon scattered the small Spanish forces he met on his way to Madrid. He would then have advanced on Lisbon and Cadiz, but was diverted from his purpose by hearing that the British army, now under the command of Sir John Moore, had fallen upon his rear, thinking to cut the French line of communication with

France. On this Napoleon despatched 100,000 men to chase the daring British general Moore, whose force amounted to only 25,000

men, effected a skilful retreat, fighting several rearguard actions with his pursuers, but avoiding a regular battle until he reached Corunna, on the coast of Galicia, where the British fleet awaited him.

To secure a safe embarkation, Moore turned upon the leading divisions of French and drove them back. He fell in the moment of victory, but his troops sailed away in safety, and he had by his bold advance into Spain checked the French invasion of that country for four months.

Napoleon himself left the Peninsula suddenly, on hearing that Austria, which had formed a new coalition with England, was preparing to attack the French in South Germany.

The British Government had resolved to pursue the war in Spain and Portugal. When Moore's regiments returned to England many of them were sent back to Lisbon under Wellesley, the victor of Vimeiro, who was put in command of the English forces. In April 1809 began that wonderful series of campaigns that was to last till March 1814, and bear the British standard in triumph from the Tagus to the Garonne. Wellesley showed the rarest combination of prudence and daring. His task was beset with difficulties: his army was at first no more than 20,000 strong, and he was continually hampered by the timid instructions of his home Government and the mistrust and jealousy of his Portuguese and Spanish allies.

He first drove the French under Marshal Soult out of Portugal, and then joining forces with the Spaniards defeated the army of Battle of Talavera King Joseph and Marshal Victor at Talavera. For this victory he received the title of Viscount Wellington (July 1809).

Meanwhile Napoleon had crushed the Austrians at Wagram, and imposed hard terms on the Emperor Francis, who was forced to give the hand of his daughter, Maria Louisa, to the conqueror. In order to

marry her Napoleon divorced his wife, Josephine, to whom he had been wedded for fourteen years

After Talavera Wellington retreated on Portugal, and spent the winter of 1809-1810 in constructing the famous "Lines of Torres Vedras," a triple series of fortifications to protect Lisbon. When in 1810 Marshal Masséna with 70,000 French advanced against Portugal, Wellington retired before him, wasting the country, and compelling all the people to take refuge in Lisbon.

At Busaco he inflicted a sharp check on Masséna's advance columns, and then withdrew into his lines. The French were brought to a stand before this formidable obstacle, and after four months of inaction, retreated from Portugal, followed by Wellington's forces, who perpetually harassed the retiring enemy. At Fuentes d'Onoro he repulsed Masséna, while at Albuera his second in command, Beresford, defeated another army under Soult (May 1811). In the following year the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos were taken by storm, and Wellington won the decisive battle of Salamanca, and was able to retake Madrid, after it had been nearly four years in hostile hands.

In the government of England during this period there had been many changes, but the policy of Pitt was still maintained by his successors. George III became completely insane in 1810, and the regency fell into the hands of his worthless son, George, Prince of Wales, an old ally of the Whigs. He had, however, no real power, and the Tory ministers carried on the struggle against Napoleon with untiring zeal.

The "Continental System" by which the emperor expected to crush England was destined to prove the cause of his own downfall. Russia would not carry out his wishes by giving up English trade, and in his

arrogance Napoleon declared war on the Czar, resolving to impose his will on his late ally by force (1812). With a vast army he entered Russia, but found the country laid waste as he advanced. After defeating the enemy at Borodino he proceeded to Moscow, only to discover the capital deserted, and a few days after his arrival the whole city was burnt—either by the deliberate resolve of the Russians, or by the carelessness of the French soldiery.

For want of food and shelter the emperor was driven at the approach of winter to withdraw on Poland. The retreat was accomplished in terrible conditions of cold and starvation, and less than a tenth of the magnificent army that had entered Russia struggled back into Germany.

The fortune of war had at last changed, and Napoleon's first disaster was soon to be followed by his fall. All his unwilling subjects in Northern Germany rose against him, and to help himself the emperor called away many of his troops from Spain. This gave the opportunity for Wellington to advance northward, driving the French before him. He gained a great battle at Vittoria (June 1813), and chased them back over the Pyrenees.

Meanwhile, after a long and bloody campaign in Germany, the battle of Leipzig sealed the fate of the tyrant, the combined forces of Russia, Prussia, and Austria overwhelmed him, and he escaped over the Rhine with only the wrecks of an army. After a desperate attempt to defend himself in France, Napoleon was forced to abdicate, while the allied Powers took possession of Paris, and called to the throne of France the representative of the Bourbons, a brother of the martyred King Louis XVI, who took the

title of Lewis XVIII. Napoleon was exiled to the little island of Elba.

While the allies had been conquering the emperor and taking Paris, Wellington had invaded France from the south. He had seized the city of Bordeaux, and defeated Marshal Soult at the battle of Toulouse, when the news of Napoleon's abdication brought his brilliant campaigns to a conclusion (April 1814).

All Europe now began to disarm, believing that the struggles of the last twenty-two years were over at last, and a Congress of diplomatists met at Vienna to restore Napoleon's ill-gotten spoils to their lawful owners.

England alone was not able to disband her armies, for she was at war with the United States of America. The result of Napoleon's "Continental System" had been to cause the English Government to declare by "Orders in Council" that neutral ships might not trade with France, and the Americans, resenting this, declared war in 1812. The Canadians aided by a small English garrison kept the enemy at bay on land, but the American ships gained several successes at sea. This struggle, however, was ended also soon after Napoleon's abdication, for the "Orders in Council" were then withdrawn, so the cause of strife was removed, and the Peace of Ghent was signed on December 24, 1814.

While the Congress was still sitting at Vienna, settling the boundaries of the various states, the alarming news was heard that Napoleon had escaped from Elba and landed in France.

The rule of the selfish and narrow-minded Lewis XVIII had irritated the French people, and most of all the army, so when Napoleon called upon his countrymen to rise and expel the Bourbons, his appeal met with a success such as he himself had hardly hoped for,

Regiment after regiment joined him on his way to Paris, and Lewis XVIII had to fly to Flanders

Proclaimed emperor again, Napoleon promised the country a liberal constitution instead of his former autocratic rule. His second tenure of power was only destined to last from March 13 till June 22, 1815, "the Hundred Days," as it was called

The Powers of Europe, one and all, declared war on him. When forced to fight, he displayed his old energy and collected a force of 130,000 men for an immediate attack on the nearest foe. Two armies were ready to oppose him in Belgium—one of Prussians, under the old Marshal Blucher, the other, a combined force of British, Germans, and Dutch, was under Wellington stationed round Brussels and Ghent

Napoleon hoped to crush each of these forces before the other could come to its aid. On June 16, he engaged and beat Blucher's Prussians at Ligny, while Marshal Ney held back at Quatre Bras the front divisions of Wellington's army, as they were marching up to join the Germans

Blucher gathered his defeated force together, and marched north to rejoin the English, while Napoleon hastened to help Ney, who had been forced back from Quatre Bras by the English

On the hillside of Mont St Jean, covering the road to Brussels, Wellington drew up his army to fight the decisive battle which the English call Waterloo, from the name of the village where Wellington wrote his despatch that night (June 18, 1815)

Battle of
Waterloo

The fighting raged round the two farms of Hougomont and La Haye Sainte, which were in front of Wellington's position

Again and again the French attacked, but though

title of Lewis XVIII. Napoleon was exiled to the little island of Elba.

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CHAPTER XXVI

✓ AFTER THE WARS (1815-1837)

THE GREAT REFORM BILL

FROM the day when Walpole had been forced to attack Spain in 1739, down to Waterloo, England had been engaged in a series of great foreign wars with only a few comparatively short intervals of peace. Of these seventy-six years forty-five had been occupied in strife—the four short intervals of quiet had only covered in all thirty-one. We have now arrived at a very different period: from 1815 to 1854 no English soldier fired a shot on the Continent of Europe. The main thread of the history of Great Britain is concerned with domestic, not with foreign, affairs.

During the twenty-two years of the last struggle with France a great change had been going on in England itself, transforming the country from an agricultural to a manufacturing community. This was due not to a decay in agriculture but solely to an increase in manufactures.

The war had multiplied our industries by putting us beyond the reach of foreign competition, and giving all maritime traffic with Asia and America into our hands. England had become the manufacturer of the goods of the whole world, not merely owing to her monopoly of trade, but owing to the improved machinery and methods of transit which she had adopted long before the rest of Europe. Hence England was at the end of the war able to bear a weight of taxation and debt which must have ruined her in earlier years.

most of the Dutch and Belgians and some of the Germans retired from the field, the troops on which the duke relied—the British, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers—held out, standing firm in their squares for many hours against the impetuous attack of the French cavalry. In the thick of the fighting Napoleon saw new troops coming up to the right, and to hold them back he had to detach nearly all his reserves. These were Blücher's Prussians, whom the marshal had promised the duke on the previous day to bring to his aid. With the arrival of this new force the French position became desperate.

A last effort of the emperor to break through the long-tried English line, by sending 5000 men of his famous Imperial Guard against it, failed, and when they recoiled, and Wellington's cavalry charged after them, the whole French army broke and fled.

Napoleon escaped to Paris, where he again abdicated. Wellington and Blücher pursued him to the capital, and fearing death at the hands of the infuriated Prussians, the emperor fled to the coast, and gave himself up at Rochefort to an English man-of-war which blockaded that port. After much discussion it was decided to send him as a prisoner to the desolate island of St Helena, where he died six years later (1821).

The pacification of Europe was now complete. The Congress of Vienna gave to England in Europe Malta, Heligoland, and the Ionian Islands, and beyond the sea the French island of Mauritius and the valuable Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope. But her real gain was the fact that she had absorbed, during the course of the war, nearly the whole of the carrying trade of the world. The naval and commercial supremacy which we enjoy to-day is the direct result of the great struggle of 1793–1815.

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But there were other aspects in which the results of the war had been less happy for England. Actual famine seemed several times during the course of the struggle to be staring the lower classes in the face, for the largely increased population could no longer be supported on the food supply of England. Nevertheless, in their zeal to encourage English agriculture, the Tory Governments of the early years of the century refused to allow the free introduction of foreign corn that was really necessary for the increased consumption of the population. The condition of the working classes, both in town and countryside, in the years after 1815 was one of great distress, and the discontent of the ignorant multitude was at the bottom of the political troubles of the time. The wilder spirits among them talked of general insurrection, and of an assault, not only on the Government, but on all forms of property and established institutions. Wiser heads aimed at a modification of the constitution in the direction of popular government, which should be attained by reform of the governing body, making the House of Commons truly representative of the people.

Parliamentary reform had been one of Pitt's cherished plans, but his successors forgot his teaching, and thus it came that the Whigs alone supported the scheme.

The last few years of George III's long reign were full of trouble and disorder, provoked rather than repressed by the obstinate rigour with which Lord Liverpool's Government put down all agitations. The most celebrated riot of this time was that at Manchester in 1819, where an enormous crowd had collected to hear the addresses of a democratic orator, and was by a rash and cruel order of the magistrates dispersed by a regiment

of cavalry, whereby some four or five persons were killed and sixty or seventy injured

To revenge this "Manchester Massacre," as it was called by the enemies of the Government, a plot was formed to murder the whole Cabinet on an occasion when they were to dine together. This "Cato Street Conspiracy," as it was named from the meeting-place of the desperadoes, was discovered, and its leader, Arthur Thistlewood, and four of his associates, were executed.

The Cato
Street
Con-
spiracy

Isolated outbreaks of rioting took place all over the north of England and the Scottish Lowlands. To meet the trouble the Government issued the celebrated "Six Acts," which imposed heavy penalties not only on actual rioters but on all who wrote what might be considered "seditious libels."

Repression was in full swing when the old King George III died, in the tenth year since his insanity had become complete (January 1820).

Death of
George III

The accession of the Prince Regent, who now began to rule as George IV, made no practical difference in politics. His character was as selfish and vicious as ever, and his quarrels with his wife, Caroline of Brunswick, had long been a public scandal. He now refused to acknowledge her as queen or allow her to be crowned, and made Lord Liverpool bring in a "Bill of Pains and Penalties" to enable him to divorce her. This aroused universal indignation, and the bill had to be withdrawn, all London being in an uproar in favour of the queen. More trouble would have followed if the unhappy Caroline had not died in August 1821. Four years previously the death of the Princess Charlotte, the heiress to the throne, only child of George IV, had been a great grief and disappointment to the nation,

who had looked forward to her redeeming the character of the royal house, which had fallen so low under her father. It was clear that one of the regent's elderly brothers must succeed to the throne, when he should descend unregretted to the grave.

The Tories continued to rule for fifteen years after Waterloo, but important changes took place in Lord Liverpool's ministry in 1821-22. The Home Secretary, Addington, resigned, and was succeeded by Robert Peel, a rising young politician, while Lord Castlereagh committed suicide, and his place as Foreign Secretary was taken by George Canning, a disciple of Pitt, the chief of the moderate Tories.

The rule of the Liverpool-Canning ministry was distinguished by the abolition of many old and oppressive laws, and the introduction of several reforms of great value, notably that of the Criminal Law, which was undertaken by Peel in 1823. By it an enormous number of offences were taken out of the list of crimes punishable with death.

Huskisson, the President of the Board of Trade, brought in some valuable improvements, abolishing the old Navigation Laws which impeded free trade with other countries, and concluding commercial treaties with several foreign Powers. In the foreign policy of England at this period Canning was always on the side of Liberalism, for the Continental monarchs, now that the fear of Napoleon was gone, were ruling with their old narrow and reactionary despotism.

When the Greeks rose in rebellion against the grinding tyranny of the Turks, the English people espoused their cause with enthusiasm, and many English volunteers aided the insurgents, including

Lord Byron, the poet, whose death of marsh-fever at Missolonghi caused him to be regarded as the martyr of liberty. The independence of Greece was secured by the battle of Navarino (October 1827), when the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were destroyed by the English squadron, aided by a few French and Russian ships.

Before this date the Liverpool-Canning ministry had ceased to exist, owing to the illness of Lord Liverpool, who was stricken with paralysis in February 1827 and the death of Canning five months later.

The ministry was unable to hold together under his successor, Lord Goderich, and the king now suggested that a strong head should be found for the Government in the person of the Duke of Wellington, a man universally respected for his loyalty and sense of duty. The choice proved an unhappy one, for Wellington had little political knowledge, with many prejudices, and was quite unable to manage Parliament. In the summer of 1828 the new Prime Minister was confronted with a great national agitation in Ireland, led by Daniel O'Connell, a wealthy squire of old family, possessed of considerable eloquence and power of organisation. The Catholic Emanci-^{The} Catholic
pation, which had been promised by Pitt at Emancipa-
the time of the Union in 1800, was clamor-^{tion} Bill
ously demanded by O'Connell and his followers, who held monster meetings all over the country.

Wellington had no sympathy with Romanism, but when the agitation grew formidable he made up his mind that the Emancipation must be granted to avoid the graver evil of a civil war. In the spring of 1829 the duke announced his intention of conceding complete equality of civil rights to all Romanists, and carried his bill, by the aid of the Whigs, in spite of the

opposition of many of his party and of the king himself O'Connell and his followers entered the English Parliament and allied themselves to the Whigs

The topic of Parliamentary Reform, the necessity for getting rid of the "Rotten Boroughs," and the unrepresentative House of Commons, came now to the front as the great difficulty of the day. The year 1830 was to prove a stormy one, and all over the world popular risings were rife. In France the despotic King Charles X was dethroned in favour of his cousin, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. The Poles rose in insurrection against the tyranny of Russia, and in Italy, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal were troubles—every-

where the old system of despotic government was assailed by riot and insurrection. The year 1830 was to prove a stormy one, and all over the world popular risings were rife. In France the despotic King Charles X was dethroned in favour of his cousin, Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. The Poles rose in insurrection against the tyranny of Russia, and in Italy, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal were troubles—every-

Accession of William IV George IV died in the summer of this year, and was succeeded by William, Duke of Clarence, his third brother, for his second brother, Frederick, Duke of York, had died in 1827

The new king was a simple, patriotic, kindly old sailor, whose personal popularity did much to make the crisis of the Reform agitation pass off without harm

The fall of Wellington's ministry followed soon after the accession of William IV, and the king sent for the Whigs, who took office under Lord Grey, and immediately opened the question of Parliamentary Reform. In 1831 Lord John Russell brought forward a Reform Bill, which disfranchised most of the

The "Rotten Boroughs" and distributed their seats among the large towns and more populous counties. The bill was passed by the House of Commons, but rejected by the Tory majority in the Lords (October 1831)

The sympathy of the nation was with the Government, and demonstrations of popular approval all over the country emboldened the ministers to make another attempt to pass the bill, by sending it again to the House of Lords. This time the peers allowed it to pass its second reading, but deprived it of most of its force by postponing the clauses which disfranchised the "Rotten Boroughs."

This quarrel between the two Houses brought England within measurable distance of civil war. But when the ministry resigned, the Duke of Wellington found himself unable to form a Tory cabinet, and the king recalled Lord Grey.

When the bill came up a third time to the House of Lords, Wellington and a hundred Tory peers solemnly left their seats, and allowed the Act to pass by a considerable majority.

It disfranchised all places with less than 2000 inhabitants, no less than fifty-six in number, and deprived thirty small towns of one of the two members which they had hitherto possessed. The 143 seats thus obtained were distributed among the large manufacturing towns and the more important counties. At the same time the franchise was extended in the boroughs to include all occupiers of houses worth more than £10 a year, *i.e.* the shopkeeping classes and the wealthier artisans, while in the counties, the farmers and yeomen obtained votes, though the agricultural labourers were not yet electors. Thus the United Kingdom acquired its first representative Parliament.

The ministry of Lord Grey lasted four years only, but did much for the country in that time. Its most important work, after the Reform Bill, was the creation of the "New Poor Law," by which it was enacted that

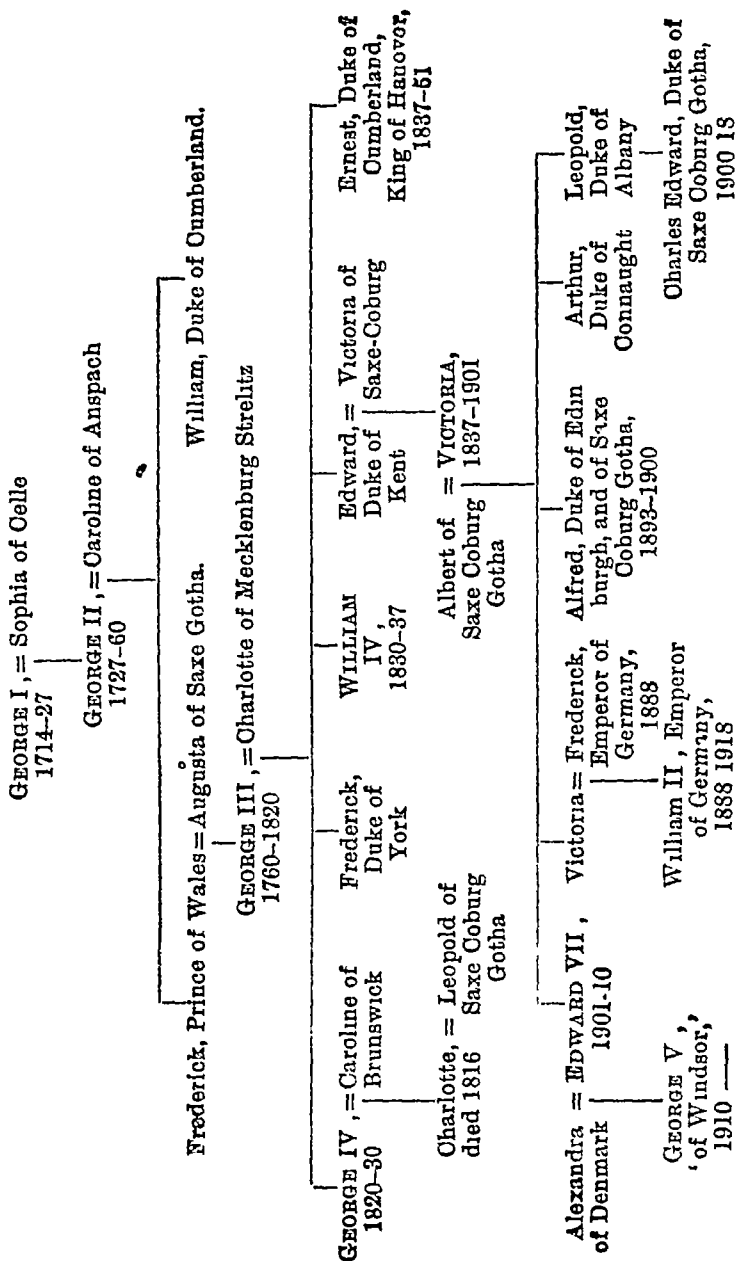
idle and able-bodied paupers must enter the workhouse and that no one but aged and infirm people should receive money from the parish in their own homes. Equally meritorious was the Abolition of Slavery in the colonies, the nation granting an enormous sum to compensate the planters whose negroes were freed.

On Lord Grey's resignation in 1834 another Whig ministry took office, whose chief concern was with the affairs of Ireland. After obtaining the Catholic Emancipation Act, O'Connell and his party had started two new agitations. One of these was a demand for "Repeal," that is, the abolition of the Union of 1800 and the establishment of a local Parliament in Dublin—what is called "Home Rule" in our own day. The second was the Tithe War—a violent protest against the payment by the Romanist peasantry of tithes for the support of the Established Church of Ireland.

The latter of these demands was settled by the Whig ministry of Lord Melbourne, which relieved the peasantry of the duty of paying the tithes, and transferred it to the landlords. O'Connell still continued the demand for Home Rule, but to his great credit he kept his agitation free from outrages.

On June 20, 1837, King William IV died, and was succeeded on the throne by his niece, Victoria, daughter of Edward, Duke of Kent, the fourth son of George III.

THE HOUSES OF HANOVER, SAXE-COBURG, AND WINDSOR



CHAPTER XXVII

VICTORIA Part I—(1837-65)

THE young queen, who had lived a life of almost entire seclusion during her uncle's reign, and was little known to her new subjects, was a girl of eighteen, of a simple, straightforward character. She was deeply conscious of the responsibilities and duties of her position, and soon won the respect and love of her people, by showing that she intended to act as a constitutional sovereign should.

By her accession the kingdom of Hanover became separated from England, as its crown was bound to go in the male line. The queen's uncle, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, a prince most deservedly unpopular, became ruler of the little German state, whose politics soon ceased to interest Great Britain. This was all for the best, for Hanoverian interests had often entangled us in Continental disputes.

The ministry of Lord Melbourne lasted till 1841, and was much concerned in its later years by social troubles in England. The extreme wing of the Chartist Whigs, now becoming known as "Radicals," Agitation. made a fresh demand for more Parliamentary reforms. It was set forth in "The People's Charter," a document which contained five claims—(1) for manhood suffrage, (2) for the vote by ballot at elections, (3) for annual Parliaments, (4) for the payment of members, (5) for throwing open seats in the House of Commons to all men, by the abolition of the qualification that a member should possess property. It had great popularity among those of the poorer

working classes who had not been given the franchise as £10 householders by the Reform Bill of 1832. The "Chartist Agitation," as it was called, took the form of riotous public meetings, and the sending of monster petitions to the House of Commons, but had no practical effect, as it was not taken up by any of the leading statesmen of the Whig party, and fell into the hands of mere demagogues.

The most important foreign complication in which the Whigs were concerned at this time was a war undertaken in Syria, to prevent the break-up of the Turkish empire in the Levant. The War in Syria Mahomet Ali, the rebel pacha of Egypt, had attempted to seize Syria and Asia Minor, and to establish an independent kingdom. An English fleet bombarded Acre, and took Sidon, forcing him to submit to his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey (1841), and content himself with the viceroyalty of Egypt alone.

In 1840 the Queen married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, who as "Prince Consort" was The Prince Consort able to act for many years as a useful counsellor to his wife and her ministers, for he had a large knowledge of foreign politics and a sound and cautious judgment.

In 1841 the Tories returned to power after an exile from office of twelve years. After the Reform Bill it had been fancied that they would die out altogether. But they survived and were now a very different party from what they had been in the days before 1830. They had been re-organised under a wise and cautious and liberal-minded leader, Sir Robert Peel, and had abandoned many of their more antiquated doctrines. Peel had dropped the old name of Tory, and called himself and his followers "Conservatives."

His earliest and most popular measures on becoming Prime Minister were directed to improving the national finances, which the Whigs had left in very bad condition. He abolished the import-duties on no less than seven hundred and fifty different commodities, yet the revenue continued to mount up in a very satisfactory way, owing to his careful administration.

The agitation for "Repeal" in Ireland, which had been simmering on for nearly twenty years, assumed a new form in 1842, when a band of ardent young politicians calling themselves the "Young Ireland Party" declared that they would have recourse to armed rebellion like the "United Irishmen" of '98¹ to gain their end. In 1843, the Government arrested O'Connell and his lieutenants on the charge of making seditious speeches, and though he was acquitted, this show of force made by Peel caused the whole agitation to collapse for the time.

The question of Free Trade was destined to end Peel's ministry, he had long wished to abolish the Corn Laws, which laid heavy duties on all imported grain, and caused the poor man's bread to be always dear. In 1845 a famine in Ireland, caused by the failure of the potato crop, called for a large importation of corn to feed the starving Irish cottars. Peel proposed to suspend the Corn Laws and to supply the necessary food at the cheapest possible rate. But the whole of his party would not follow him, and he was bitterly opposed by the Protectionist section of the Conservatives, headed by Lord George Bentinck and Benjamin Disraeli. The latter was a brilliant but somewhat eccentric young member of the House, of Jewish descent, who had

¹ See page 185.

hitherto been known rather as a writer of romantic novels than as a serious politician

Peel carried his bill for repealing the Corn Laws by the aid of the votes of his enemies the Whigs, but was soon after defeated on an Irish bill, owing to the opposition of Bentinck and Disraeli, who voted against their old leader in order to punish him for having thrown over "Protection" On his fall the Whigs, or "Liberal" party as they now began to be called, came back to power, with Lord John Russell as Premier, and Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary

A famine in Ireland, far greater than that of the preceding year, brought the severest misery on the peasantry, who died in thousands before the Government would realise that nothing but a wholesale distribution of food would save the unhappy people, and began to organise depôts of free food all over the land (1847)

After the famine was over fresh misery was caused by the action of the landlords, who, half-ruined themselves, evicted many of their tenants for arrears of rent, forcing them to emigrate by tens of thousands to America.

The "Young Ireland" party seized on this opportunity to make an attempt at insurrection, which, however, came to nothing, the leader, Smith O'Brien, being captured after a bloodless skirmish in a potato-field, while his followers dispersed (July 1848)

This unsuccessful revolt in Ireland was one of the least noteworthy events of 1848, the most turbulent year of the nineteenth century The whole Continent was stirred by insurrections in favour of liberal ideas and national rights The French drove out their king, Louis Philippe, and established a republic, the Hun-

garians rose in revolt to gain a constitution from their ruler, the Austrian emperor, and the Italians strove by a great rising to win national unity, by expelling the Austrians from the north and the petty dukes and kings of the centre and south of Italy. Germany also was convulsed by popular insurrections

The Chartist agitators in England now made a final effort to gain their "five points" Their leader, Feargus O'Connor, gathered a mass of his adherents at Kennington, and threatened to march on Westminster with 500,000 men But the Government replied by enrolling 200,000 "special constables" from the upper and middle classes of Londoners, who, with the troops, were ready to withstand the rioters Overawed by these preparations the Chartists dispersed, and never again disturbed the peace of England Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, did his best to favour the liberal and national parties in the struggles on the Continent by peaceful means, but would not commit England to war on their behalf

To the regret of the English nation, Italy and Hungary were reconquered by their old masters, and the German Liberals were put down The French Republic proved ill-governed, and gave place to a military dictatorship under the presidency of Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Napoleon I, who some two years later abolished the Republic, shooting or imprisoning all who opposed him He then assumed the title of Emperor and the name of Napoleon III (December 1851)

After the turbulent years '48 and '49 a time of peace and prosperity seemed to set in Many signs of development and advance were visible in the domestic affairs of Britain since the beginning of the nineteenth

century. Their effect was now in full working. The construction of many railways—starting with the Liverpool and Manchester line of 1830—had led to easy communication between all parts of the country, and the quick transportation of goods, and transfer of labour from one market to another, had had a marked effect in stimulating the commerce of the land.

The character and habits of the English people were no less affected by two other inventions, namely, the Penny Post, introduced by Rowland Hill in 1840, and the opening of public telegraph offices in 1843.

The condition of the operative classes in the great towns was the subject of several useful and important Acts of Parliament which protected children, women, and lads under eighteen from over-work in factories (1833), prohibited underground labour in mines for women and children (1842), and appointed Government inspectors to see that the law was carried out both in factories and mines. The workmen themselves also were now allowed to unite in "trades unions" for their own protection.

In the early years of the reign of Victoria movements took place in the National Church which have had a profound effect on the minds of men during the remainder of the century. There first arose a Broad Church movement, led by Archbishop Whately, which aimed at widening and popularising the Church, by bringing its teaching into accordance with the latest discoveries in science and history, and giving it a basis in reason rather than in dogma.

A very different aim was that of the High Church party, which found its utterance in the works of the Oxford School, led by three Fellows of Oxford colleges—John Henry Newman, John Keble, and Edward Pusey.

Newman started a series of "Tracts for the Times," to which the leaders of the school contributed, urging a return to the ritual and practice of the Early Church and submission to authority in matters of doctrine. Newman and many of his adherents went over to the Church of Rome, but the bulk of the "Tractarians" remained within the Church of England, and, in spite of much opposition in the early days of their teaching, have acquired a strong position by their zeal, spirituality, and excellent work in neglected parishes.

One unhappy result of the High Church movement was, however, to drive the Nonconformists into a greater antagonism against the Church of England than before, and to cause Dissent to have a political side, which aims at the disestablishment of the Church.

The Whig cabinet of Lord John Russell fell in 1852, owing to a quarrel between him and his Foreign Minister, Lord Palmerston. A Conservative Ministry, under Lord Derby and Benjamin Disraeli, then held office for a few months, but was succeeded, after a general election, by a Coalition Government, which included the more advanced Conservatives (called "Peelites," though Peel was himself now dead). Lord Aberdeen was Prime Minister, Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer, while the Whigs, Lord John Russell and Palmerston, became Home and Foreign Secretaries.

This Cabinet was destined to have to deal with the gravest foreign complications that England had known for forty years. The Czar Nicholas of Russia was long to possess European Turkey, and, on a pretext of injustice done to the Greek Church in Syria by the Sultan, he sent his armies over the frontier, and occupied two of the vassal states of Turkey. Sir Stratford Canning, an able English diplomatist, was despatched

to Constantinople to advise the Sultan to stand firm against Russia, and the Emperor Napoleon III of France also espoused the cause of Turkey

Thus it happened that almost before they knew it the English people found themselves in alliance with Napoleon, and driven into a war against Russia (March 1854) The lack of military preparations in Great Britain soon became painfully apparent, as the army had seen no fighting for forty years, while many of the commanders were too old for active service, and others unwisely chosen.

A force of some 28,000 British troops was sent out to join, at Varna, on the Black Sea, a French army of about the same strength, and in September landed on the western shore of the Crimea to attack the great naval fortress of Sebastopol, the stronghold and arsenal of the Russian fleet As they advanced they found a Russian army, under Prince Mentchikoff, drawn up behind the river Alma The allied generals won the battle that followed, but it was not due to their good generalship, for the English commander, Lord Raglan, and the French marshal did not act well together, and they failed to pursue the enemy, though if they had hurried on they might have captured Sebastopol at once (September 20, 1854) As it was, they proceeded to lay siege to it in an unsatisfactory way, for they were not numerous enough to encircle the two sides of the Sebastopol harbour

The Russians then made an attack on the English at Balaclava, a battle always remembered for the famous "charge of the Six Hundred" By an unfortunate misunderstanding of orders, the English Light Cavalry Brigade was sent, alone and unsupported, to charge a Russian battery in position in

the centre of the Russian host. The Six Hundred rode for a mile and a half through a tempest of shells and bullets and captured the battery, but then were forced to retreat by the same way they had come, losing 113 killed and 134 wounded. The gallant onset was not followed up by an infantry attack, so that the splendid effort was entirely wasted. But the "charge of the Light Brigade" remains in history as a monument of the unhesitating obedience of the British trooper.

The next engagement was that of Inkermann—"the soldiers' battle," as it was called—for the Russians advanced on the English camp in a thick fog, and the men, surprised in their tents, turned out almost without guidance and flung themselves recklessly on the enemy, gaining a notable victory (November 5, 1854).

The winter brought with it untold sufferings and privations for the army, which was ill-fed and ill-clad, so that the men were stricken down in hundreds by cold and disease. When the miserable state of the troops in the Crimea became known at home through the newspapers, popular indignation ran so high that the ministers who were regarded as responsible for the mismanagement—Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle—resigned their offices. The vigorous Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister, and energetically poured supplies and recruits into the Crimea, while the hospitals were reformed and entrusted to Florence Nightingale and her volunteer nurses, who supplemented the inadequate staff that the Government had provided.

The Czar Nicholas died in the following March, heartbroken by the failure of his armies. After the fall of Sebastopol, which was taken at last by the allied armies in September 1855, the young Czar Alexander,

his successor, sued for peace, which was granted by the Treaty of Paris, though Lord Palmerston was desirous of going on with the war, declaring (and with truth) that Russia was not really weakened by her defeat, and would be as powerful as ever in ten years

The Crimean war was hardly over when England found herself involved in two little wars in the East, which were to be followed by the great struggle of the Indian Mutiny¹ The first contest was with the Shah of Persia, who had invaded Afghanistan and occupied Herat An army was despatched from India, which occupied most of the ports of Southern Persia and won a battle at Kooshaub, after which the Shah begged for peace, and obtained it on evacuating Herat (1857)

The second little war was with China, where a small English trading vessel, the *Arrow*, had been seized by the mandarin of Canton, and its crew imprisoned Lord Palmerston avenged the wrong by sending an army and fleet against China They were aided by French troops, but it was not till three years later that the Emperor of China was at last forced by the capture of Peking to pay an indemnity and open several ports to English commerce (1860)

The Conservatives came into power again in 1858 for a short period under Lord Derby and Disraeli, and in their brief term of power conferred one The great boon on the nation, by encouraging and Volunteer organising the "Volunteer Movement," in Movement which men of all classes were formed into Volunteer corps, like the old levies of 1803 They undertook to arm and train themselves at their own expense, and to take the field for the defence of the realm whenever peril of invasion should arise The Volunteer

¹ See pp 255 57

force has since that time taken a fixed and valuable place in the national line of defence. The threatening language of the French press and army had been an incentive to this movement, but ere long it was seen that the French emperor was scheming against Austria, not against England.

In 1859 a French army was sent across the Alps, promising to deliver Italy from its oppressors, and routed the Austrians at Magenta and Solferino. But instead of aiding the Italians to set up a kingdom of United Italy, Napoleon III now withdrew, making peace with Austria. Abandoned by him, the Italians delivered themselves, and a kingdom of Italy was successfully established under Victor Emmanuel, king of Sardinia, aided by his great statesman Cavour and the hero Garibaldi (1860-61).

Palmerston was again in power when a formidable difficulty presented itself for the English statesman in the form of the great Civil War between the Northern and Southern States of America (1861), the institution of negro slavery being the main cause of the quarrel. Palmerston, however, kept England out of the conflict, in spite of several incidents which seemed as if they must inevitably bring on war between this country and the Northern States.

A cotton famine in Lancashire (1862) was the result of the blockading of the American cotton ports of the Southern States by the Northern fleets, and a disaster as great as the Irish famine of 1846 was only prevented by the wise measures of the Government and lavish private charity.

In 1865 the Southern States were conquered, so American cotton once more came in, and the country

entered on a period of remarkable growth and prosperity. William Gladstone, originally a Peelite Conservative, but now a thorough Liberal, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in this Cabinet, was able to produce favourable budgets year after year, which added to his reputation, and made it evident that he would be Palmerston's successor as leader of the Liberal party.

In 1865 the old statesman died at the age of eighty-one, having been for many years the leading figure in English politics. By his vigour and resource, courage and patriotism, he had won and merited the confidence of the nation more than any minister since the younger Pitt.

CHAPTER XXVIII

VICTORIA. Part II.—(1865-1901)

AFTER Palmerston's death it became evident that the character of the two British political parties had undergone a complete change since the days of their forefathers, the Whigs and Tories. The Liberals, under the guidance of Gladstone, were democratic in their ideas. They were anxious to transfer political power from the middle classes to the masses, by means of extending the franchise. These newly enfranchised citizens were to be made worthy of the trust by compulsory national education, while the secret "vote by ballot" was to guard them against influences from without. Domestic reform was the chief concern of the Liberals, and they gave comparatively little attention to external affairs, and were unwilling to spend much money on keeping up the army and navy.

The new Conservatism, of which Disraeli was the father, earned the name of Imperialism, for Disraeli had a great confidence in the future of the British Empire, and believed that Britain ought to take a firm and decided part in European politics. He desired to unite the mother-country more closely to her colonies, and to govern the Empire as a whole, making the British name respected by the civilised world and feared by barbarians. He was ready to extend the franchise—though not so far as the Liberals wished—and proposed to improve the conditions of the life of the labouring classes by benevolent legislation.

The aged Lord John (now Earl) Russell succeeded Palmerston as Prime Minister, but resigned after a few months, on his failure to pass a Reform Bill (June 1866).

Lord Derby and Disraeli then again took office, though the Liberals were in a majority in Parliament, and Disraeli proceeded to frame a rival Reform Bill. He proposed a considerable extension of the franchise, and in particular wished to grant a second vote to persons who possessed £30 in the savings-banks or £50 in Government funds, or who had received a superior education. These clauses were derided by the Liberals as "fancy franchises," and cut out of the bill, which, after considerable alteration at the hands of the Liberal majority in Parliament, became law. It made a decided extension in the franchise, though still leaving the agricultural labourer without a vote.

While the Reform Bill was being passed a dangerous crisis had been experienced in Ireland.

Ireland. A national rising was organised by a number of exiled Irish-Americans who had arrived there since the end of the American Civil War. They founded the

"Fenian Brotherhood," a secret association for promoting rebellion in Ireland, and planned simultaneous risings all over the country, which were to be aided by thousands of trained soldiers from America. An invasion of Canada was projected to distract the attention of the Government

The
Fenians

The Fenians failed, partly from want of organisation, partly from shirking at the moment of danger, and partly from secret traitors in their own ranks. A few police barracks were attacked in Ireland, but the assailants fled when regular troops approached, and the horde who invaded Canada ran away from a few hundred militia (1867)

Two desperate attempts made by Fenians to release some of their comrades, who had fallen into the hands of the law in England, were the most notable of their doings. At Manchester they attacked a police van, killing one and wounding three unarmed constables, while at Clerkenwell the explosion, by which they hoped to burst open the prison walls, only resulted in the death and wounding of more than a hundred peaceable dwellers in the neighbouring streets. For these murders several Fenians were executed.

The attempted revolt of the Irish caused the Liberal party to suggest the removal of certain practical grievances, in the hope of pacifying the discontented country. The first of these was the continued existence of the Protestant Established Church of Ireland, in spite of the fact that four-fifths of the Irish people were Roman Catholics. Gladstone demanded the abolition of the Establishment, and succeeded in turning out the Conservative Government on this question (1868). Disraeli had become Prime Minister some months before, when Lord Derby retired from ill-health.

Gladstone now came into office (December 1868), and passed the bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. He also framed a Land Act, which was intended to grant the Irish peasantry compensation for any improvement they might have made in their holdings, and to encourage them to buy their farms from the landlords, if they were willing to sell. This policy of conciliation, however, did not have any success, for the country was so far from being quieted that the Government had to pass a stringent Peace Preservation Act, and send additional troops across the Channel to preserve order (1870).

A long series of domestic reforms were carried out by Gladstone. The Education Act provided sufficient school accommodation for the whole infant population of the country, and made attendance of all children at school compulsory. Another important measure was the introduction of the secret ballot at Parliamentary elections—one of the old demands of the Chartists.

The chief event on the Continent at this period was a war between France and Germany. It had been provoked by the Emperor Napoleon III., but resulted in his complete defeat and overthrow, and in the loss by France of the two frontier provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. After the fall of the Emperor, France became a Republic (1870-71).

In 1874 the result of a general election brought the Conservatives again into power, with Disraeli as Prime Minister. Before they had been long in office a series of troubles that arose in the Balkan Peninsula began to occupy the attention of all Europe (1875-76). The Bosnians, Servians, and Montenegrins rose in revolt against the Sultan of Turkey, aided by many volunteers from Russia.

The Bulgarians had also taken up arms, but were put down by the Turks with a ruthless cruelty that shocked the civilised world, so that when the Czar of Russia declared war on Turkey (1877) the English Government did not attempt to interfere, although Disraeli regarded the increase of Russia's power as a grave danger to England. But in 1878, when the Russians were victorious and their armies pouring down on Constantinople, Disraeli thought it time to take measures to oppose them. He asked for a large grant of money for military purposes, and sent the English Mediterranean fleet into the Sea of Marmora. This threatening attitude of England caused the Czar to hold back and offer terms to the Sultan. Disraeli refused to acquiesce in the treaty which they concluded (at San Stefano, March 1878), as it made all the Balkan States vassals to Russia. By the Berlin Conference (1878) the treaty was modified, and the Russian claims cut down, so that Disraeli (now Earl of Beaconsfield) declared that there would be no need for England to go to war, as he had secured "Peace with honour."

The ill-feeling between Russia and England led to the Afghan war of 1878-80 (see p 257). This struggle, which was costly and doubtful in policy, followed in 1879 by a mismanaged war in Zululand, led to a great loss of popularity by the Conservatives, and in the general election of 1880 the Liberals again came into power, with Gladstone as Prime Minister.

The new Cabinet was scarcely installed, when the Boers, the inhabitants of the newly-annexed Transvaal,¹ revolted. The small English force in South Africa suffered a crushing defeat at Majuba Hill, whereupon the Government, before reinforcements could arrive,

¹ See p 281

made peace with the rebels and granted them independence (1880-1881)

Soon after this disastrous conclusion of the Transvaal war, troubles broke out in Egypt. This country had grown very important to England since the overland route to India, by Alexandria and the Red Sea, had been discovered, and still more since the Suez Canal had been constructed in 1869. The Khedive Ismail of Egypt owned about one-half of the shares of the Suez Canal Company, and when he, being nearly bankrupt, in 1875 proposed to sell them, Disraeli promptly bought them all on behalf of the English Government. Thus England had a right to interfere in the affairs of Egypt, and when Ismail abdicated in favour of his son, Tewfik, England and France established a "Dual Control" over the country, appointing ministers to take charge of the finances of Egypt. Some of the Egyptian officers and courtiers resented this, and in 1882 an ambitious soldier, Arabi Pasha, rose in rebellion and drove away the foreign ministers. France refused to unite with England in putting him down, but an English fleet was sent to Alexandria, which bombarded and seized the town. The struggle which followed was brought to an end quickly by an English force under Sir Garnet Wolseley, who defeated Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir, and seized Cairo (September 1882). Arabi was exiled, and the Khedive Tewfik restored to his throne, while English troops remained to maintain order in Egypt.

In 1883 an insurrection broke out in the Egyptian provinces on the Upper Nile, led by a fanatic who called himself the Mahdi — a prophet whom the Mohammedans expect to appear before the end of the world. The first Egyptian

expedition sent against him was defeated and cut to pieces, and then the Government despatched a man who was known to possess much influence in the Soudan, on account of his wise government of the land in the days of the Khedive Ismail. This was General Charles Gordon, a brave and pious engineer officer, who was told to withdraw the Egyptian forces from the Upper Nile. He reached Khartoum, the capital of the Soudan, but as he had been given no troops to aid him, he could not withdraw the garrison without help from outside, and the Mahdi immediately laid siege to the town.

General
Gordon,

Gordon besought the Cabinet for British troops to help him. After long delay a small expedition was despatched under Wolseley, which defeated the Mahdi's troops at Abu Klea, but arrived too late to save Khartoum—the town had been stormed, and the heroic Gordon slain (January 26, 1885). The British retired, abandoning the whole Soudan to the Mahdi's wild followers, who soon began to threaten the frontier of Egypt itself.

The abandonment of Gordon and mismanagement of the Soudan war made the Government very unpopular in England, while great difficulties nearer home had been raised by the Irish question.

Ireland

In 1880 the Government brought in a Bill which forbade any landlord to evict a tenant from his farm without paying him what was called "compensation for disturbance", this Bill was rejected by the House of Lords. But in 1881 an Irish Land Bill was passed, which appointed a commission to reduce all rents which seemed heavy, and to fix them for fifteen years on a lower scale. The peasantry were

The Land
League

still unsatisfied, and the Home Rulers had founded the celebrated "Land League," which organised a system of terrorism all over the country. Not only were all landlords regarded as enemies, and in many cases shot at, or their property injured, but if any one took a farm from which a former tenant had been evicted he was shunned by all his neighbours, no one would sell him anything, or buy from him. This system was called "boycotting," because it was first practised on a Captain Boycott.

At last the Government gave up trying to pacify the Irish, and seized Charles Parnell, the leader of the Home Rule party, with forty of his adherents, and imprisoned them. But a little later, in 1882, Mr Gladstone yielded, and permitted Parnell and his friends to make a compact with the Government (called the "Kilmainham Treaty," from the gaol in which they were imprisoned at the time). They undertook that if they were released they would set themselves to stop the outrages that were going on. The Viceroy of Ireland (Lord Cowper) and the Irish Secretary (Forster) resigned their offices to show their disapproval of this arrangement. Lord Frederick Cavendish then became Secretary for Ireland, but six days after his appointment he and his Under-secretary were murdered in broad daylight in the Phoenix Park, in Dublin, by members of a secret society known as the "Invincibles" (May 1882).

Universal horror was excited by this murder, and a stringent Crimes Bill was passed, but the country remained in a deplorable condition of disorder, while the Irish party in Parliament was a constant source of trouble to the Government.

Seeing his Irish policy so unsuccessful, Mr Glad-

stone reverted to the old Liberal cry for an extension of the franchise. A Reform Bill was passed in 1885 which granted the vote to agricultural labourers, the last considerable class in the country which had not yet obtained it. It also "redistributed" seats, taking them away from small boroughs of less than 15,000 inhabitants, and giving more to the larger boroughs and more populous districts. Nevertheless, in June 1885 the Liberals lost office, and a Conservative ministry came in, with Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister, for Beaconsfield had died in 1881. At the ensuing General Election the Gladstonians lost many seats.

In the new Parliament the Conservatives and Liberals were found to be nearly equal in numbers, but when the Home Rulers joined themselves to the Liberals, Gladstone had a majority. Lord Salisbury therefore had to resign office, and the Liberals again came into power. To the great surprise of every one Gladstone now declared that he was prepared to grant Home Rule for Ireland. Several members of his Cabinet resigned on account of this, and the Home Rule Bill was thrown out by the action of ninety-seven English and Scotch Liberals, who voted against their party. Gladstone therefore resigned, and a General Election returned a large majority of "Unionists," who, whether Liberals or Conservatives, did not wish Ireland to be separated from Great Britain.

In August 1886 Lord Salisbury took office with the most powerful majority at his command that any minister had enjoyed since the days of Lord Grey and the Reform Bill.

The new Government being determined never to

grant Home Rule for Ireland, the Parnellites tried to stir up fresh troubles in that country by a scheme called the "Plan of Campaign," by which the peasantry were to refuse to pay more rent than they thought proper. But this failed, and a stringent Coercion Bill in 1887 did much to repress disorder. Under the new Secretary for Ireland, Arthur Balfour, the condition of the country began to improve.

In 1887 occurred Queen Victoria's first Jubilee, when the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of her accession (June 21) was taken as the opportunity for a great imperial pageant, and representatives not only from the United Kingdom, but from India and the colonies, came to show their respect for their admirable sovereign.

Several useful measures of practical reform were passed by the Salisbury ministry, including a Local Government Bill in 1888, which created the County Councils, and an Education Act in 1891, which provided free education in elementary schools.

The Irish party in Parliament was weakened at this time by a division in their own ranks. Their leader, Parnell, had in 1889 proved his innocence of a charge of having approved the Phoenix Park murders, but in the following year he was convicted of grave misconduct in private life. In consequence of this the majority of the Irish party refused to follow him any longer, but a small body still acknowledged him as their chief. Parnell himself died in 1891, but the split between "Parnellites" and "Anti-Parnellites" lasted nearly ten years, destroying much of the power of the Home Rule movement and the Irish party.

The General Election of 1892 resulted in a small majority in Parliament for the Liberals, and Gladstone

again formed a ministry, but he was compelled to rely on the Irish members' votes to aid him, as the numbers of the parties were nearly equal

In 1893 he brought forward his second Home Rule Bill, which, after six months' discussion, was passed by the Commons, but was thrown out promptly by the House of Lords by a majority of ten to one

Gladstone's
Second
Home
Rule Bill.

Instead of resigning, the Government put the question of Home Rule aside, and declared that it would turn to other measures of reform. In 1894 Gladstone resigned the Premiership, on account of his great age, and retired from public life. His place was taken by Lord Rosebery, his Foreign Secretary, who was considered the ablest man of the Liberal party. He held office for sixteen months, and introduced many Bills, such as the Welsh Disestablishment Act, an Irish Land Act, and a "Local Option" Act, but none of them were carried. His ministry was always weak, and grew more powerless and discredited as each month went by.

In 1895 the General Election brought Lord Salisbury back to power with an even larger majority than in 1886. His Cabinet included several Liberal Unionists—Mr Chamberlain, Lord Hartington, and others. A strong imperial and colonial policy was the line taken up by this ministry, which lasted into the new century, and remained in power after another General Election, which no Cabinet has done since Lord Palmerston's day.

In 1895 a dispute with the President of the United States concerning the boundaries of the Republic of Venezuela aroused a good deal of angry feeling, but the matter ended in a satisfactory arbitration, which granted Great Britain nearly all that she had claimed.

A much more dangerous question was opened by the wild and piratical "Jameson Raid" Ever since the defeat of Majuba Hill,¹ when Gladstone granted independence to the Boers of the Transvaal, there had been bitter feeling between the British colonists in South Africa and the burghers of the Transvaal and Orange River Free State

The "British South African Company," founded by Cecil Rhodes, had seized the territories—Mashonaland and Matabeleland²—which lay to the north of the Transvaal, and the Boers were much incensed at these annexations, which cut off from them the power of spreading toward the interior of Africa

On the other hand, the British settlers, who went to the Transvaal to work the gold-mines there, much resented the way in which they were denied all rights of citizenship by the Transvaal Government under President Kruger, a clever but narrow-minded and unscrupulous old man The settlers, or "Uitlanders," as the Boers called them, formed a conspiracy to rise at Johannesburg, the centre of the gold-mining district, and gain the privileges they wanted by armed rebellion To aid them, five hundred mounted police from Rhodesia made a dash to reach Johannesburg This piratical raid was led by Dr Jameson, a trusted friend of Rhodes, who was now Premier of Cape Colony, and had secretly countenanced the expedition The raiders were surrounded, captured, and imprisoned, while the Uitlanders in the Transvaal laid down their arms The "Raid" and the attempted rebellion embittered to an intolerable degree the feeling between the

Jameson's
Raid.

¹ See p 262

² Generally called Rhodesia after the name of the President of the British South African Company

British and Dutch inhabitants of South Africa. Yet it was to be nearly four years before this deep-lying hatred led to open war

Meanwhile there was an interval of quiet, during which the second Jubilee of Queen Victoria took place, celebrating the sixtieth year of her reign. The There was an even greater display of imperial Second sentiment all round the British world than in Jubilee 1887. Ere three years had elapsed it was proved that the loyalty professed by the British colonies was no vain show, and that the colonists were ready to come forward to aid the mother-country in her hour of need¹ (June 1897)

Gladstone's death at the great age of eighty-eight (May 1898) left the Liberal party more divided than ever, with no definite political programme or acknowledged leader

Meanwhile foreign affairs at this period grew threatening, and in 1898 a war with France was narrowly averted. The cause of dispute arose on the frontier of Egypt. The Salisbury Government had undertaken the reconquest of the Soudan, where the followers of the Mahdi had been making continual raids on the southern provinces of Egypt² In two campaigns, in 1896 and 1898, Sir Herbert Kitchener subdued the "Khalifa" Abdullah, the successor of the Mahdi After the great battle of Omdurman, Kitchener took over the administration of the reconquered lands He then discovered that a small French expedition under a Major Marchand had pushed across from the Congo and settled itself at Fashoda on the Upper Nile, hoisting the French flag, apparently with the intention of claiming this territory.

¹ See p 237.

² See p 229.

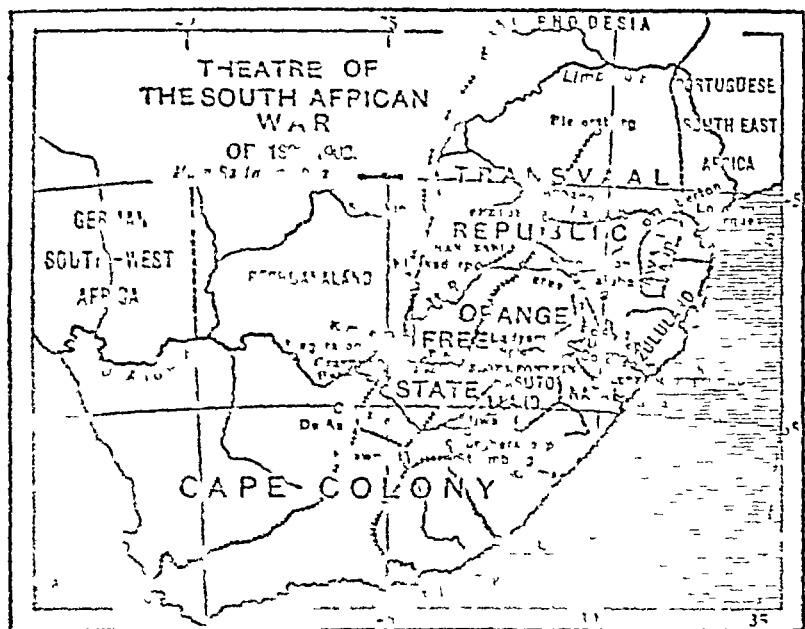
The French Government had been warned that an invasion of this region would be regarded as an unfriendly act, and it was now summoned to withdraw Marchand. After some hesitation the ministers of the Republic did so, and thus a serious European war was happily avoided.

Affairs in South Africa now began to absorb the attention of the nation. Since "Jameson's Raid" the condition of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal had become much harder under the oppressive rule of President Kruger, and in 1899 the British subjects in the Transvaal made an appeal to the Queen for an inquiry into their wrongs. This led to the Bloemfontein Conference, in May 1899, where Sir Alfred Milner met Kruger. But the President would not grant any civic rights to Uitlanders, and even disputed the British suzerainty over the Republic, which had been stipulated in 1882, when Gladstone had granted the Boers local freedom.

From this time war was inevitable, and the Government began to strengthen the British garrisons in South Africa. In October, Kruger, who had been for the last three years secretly accumulating vast stores of arms and munitions from Europe, declared war, in which he was joined by the Boers of the neighbouring Orange Free State.

The Government in England had not at all realised the strength of the two Republics, and the British troops were far too few in number to be able to meet the enemy, who at once invaded Natal. Fortunately for the British the Boers did not march on the Cape Colony (where most of the Dutch inhabitants would have risen to aid them), but spent their strength in besieging Ladysmith in Natal, and the outlying garrisons of Mafeking and Kimberley.

For a time all went against the British. Sir Redvers Buller, the general who was sent out in command of fresh troops, attempted to relieve Ladysmith, but was completely beaten at Colenso. In the same week (December 1899) Lord Methuen at Magersfontein and



General Gatacre at Stormberg were defeated by the Boers.

The news of these reverses aroused the spirit of the nation. All over Britain volunteers for the war offered themselves in thousands, while the colonies, anxious to help the mother-country, contributed men and horses with a splendid liberality. A new commander was needed even more than the new troops. Lord Roberts (the hero of Candahar¹) was sent out with Lord

¹ See p. 258.

Kitchener (the victor of Omdurman)¹ as his Chief of the Staff

Roberts cleared away the Boers from Magersfontein, relieved Kimberley, and captured 4000 of its besiegers at Paardeberg. Then, sweeping all before him, he marched into the Orange Free State and occupied its capital, Bloemfontein (March 11, 1900)

Meanwhile Buller, after two more unsuccessful assaults, succeeded in relieving Ladysmith, whose garrison, under Sir George White, had made a heroic resistance and been reduced almost to starvation (February 29, 1900)

In two short campaigns Roberts brought the regular fighting to an end. In the first (May to June 1900) he captured Johannesburg and Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, in the second (September 1900) he dispersed the main Boer army. President Kruger fled to Europe with the treasure-chest of the Republic.

But the task of pacifying the two Dutch states, which had been formally annexed in 1900, took full nineteen months more. Lord Kitchener, who was left in command after Lord Roberts returned to England, had to subdue the rebels, who had split up into guerilla bands, which proved most difficult to catch or defeat. But perseverance was rewarded, at last surrender was made by the survivors of the Boer armies to the number of 21,000 men, and peace was declared (May 1902)

The most notable feature of the war, both to Britain herself and to the other Powers of Europe, was the loyalty with which the British colonies rallied round the mother-country, pouring in their best fighting men for her aid. The existence of the "imperial sentiment" was proved in the eyes of the whole world.

¹ See p 235

To the sorrow of all her loyal subjects their aged Sovereign did not live to see the successful end of the struggle. Queen Victoria, whose powers had been failing for the last year of her life, died on January 22, 1901. Her long reign of sixty-four years had shown her to be a model of constitutional rulers. She had set a high standard of public as well as domestic duty, and was followed to the grave by the regrets of all the subjects of her vast Empire.

Death of
Queen
Victoria.

CHAPTER XXIX

FROM THE DEATH OF QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE END OF THE WAR OF 1914-1918

QUEEN VICTORIA was succeeded by her eldest son, Edward VII, a capable and urbane prince, whose considerable talents had been undervalued by those who had only known him in the difficult position of heir-apparent, which he had occupied for so many years. He proved a very popular monarch, and his diplomatic capacity—he was an untiring traveller to foreign courts—often served his country well.

King
Edward
VII.
1901 to

In the fifth year of his reign the Conservative Ministry, which had held the reins of Government since 1895, went out of office, being badly beaten at the General Election which took place in the mid-winter of 1905-6. Ever since the end of the South African war it had been losing prestige, mainly through internal quarrels among its own

Tariff
Reform.

members on the subject of Free Trade versus Protection, which was now beginning after an interval of sixty years to become once more a dominating problem in domestic politics, but partly also because of its slow and tentative dealings with other matters of social and constitutional reform which were beginning to grow urgent

In January 1906 a Liberal Ministry came in, headed first by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, but after his death, in less than two years, by Mr Asquith, who was to remain Prime Minister till 1916 This
 The Liberal Cabinet started with a wide programme, intended to deal with all the problems which
 Ministry of 1906 had been maturing of late It carried many

important Acts, *eg* those creating old-age pensions for the poor, and dealing with trade disputes and education But it lived in constant strife with the Upper House, which modified many bills, and threw out others entirely This finally led to a high constitutional quarrel in 1909-10 The House of Lords having thrown out a money bill which rendered the annual budget impossible, the Ministry made an appeal to the constituencies in a General Election (February 1910)

The Parlia They were returned to office with a majority
 ment Act, much decreased, but still sufficient to enable
 1909 10 them to proceed with their campaign, which took the form of a "Parliament Act" to restrict the veto of the House of Lords The Peers very naturally rejected it, whereupon the Ministry appealed again to the constituencies (December 1910) Both sides had hoped for much from this second General Election within the year—which however changed nothing, the numbers of adherents of each party remained exactly the same The "Parliament

Act" was then produced again in a somewhat changed shape, providing that bills refused by the House of Lords should go into the statute book if they had been passed three times in three successive sessions of Parliament. Thus the Upper House retained a power of postponing legislation, but not of defeating it if the House of Commons persisted in its purpose. It was obvious that this would check hasty measures, but not those which had considered public opinion behind them. The logical deduction that the House of Lords itself should be reformed, as having become in recent years a less important and representative body, was not made by the victorious Liberal Party. They preferred to leave the Upper Chamber weak, and not to strengthen it by drastic changes in its composition, such as would have made it into a senate of the type known on the continent or in the United States.

The House of Lords having been defeated, and its veto whittled down, the Asquith Ministry carried in the years 1911-13 several bills designed to meet the needs of the democracy, though not always obtaining its unqualified approval. Such were those dealing with insurance for the sick, medical inspection for the young, and the revision of land-values for taxation, with many bills relating to the problems between employer and employed. They were also finally obliged to take up a question which had twice before been fatal to Liberal Cabinets in 1885 and 1893—that of Irish Home Rule. For the ^{The Third} Home Rule Bill. numbers of the Liberal and Conservative Parties in the Commons were so nicely balanced after 1910 that the power of putting either of them in a minority lay with the eighty Irish Home Rule members, and the forty Labour representatives. The Irish

naturally insisted on the production of a third Home Rule Bill, differing somewhat in detail from Mr Gladstone's original measure. This was finally carried after long and heated debate in July 1914. It did not satisfy the Home Rulers, while it produced such wild wrath in Unionist Ulster that an active organisation for armed resistance grew up there. When a large body of the officers of the Army in Ireland let it be known that they would not fight against the Ulstermen, and offered to throw up their commissions, it seemed that civil war was near at hand. But on July 29 the outbreak of the great European war suddenly swept the Irish question into the background. It still remains unsolved.

During the long political struggle between 1906 and 1914, the Unionist party, when it had settled down to a long period of sitting in opposition, went over entirely to the doctrine of "Imperial Preference," *i.e.* made the chief text of its creed the axiom that not only a closer federal union with the Colonies should be established, but that a modified form of Protection within the British Empire should be introduced, and Free Trade with all the world rejected, as a dangerous delusion which had failed after long trial. Its exponents in the time of Cobden and Bright had supposed that if Great Britain started the experiment, other nations would follow. But other nations did not, and many of them have built up tariff walls for the express purpose of hindering British trade, while continuing to utilise without thanks the free markets open to them. Free Trade means cheap food, and this was for many years the only side of the problem at which the working classes looked. But cheap food may be bought too dearly by

the destruction of national agriculture and national industries. The question remains to be solved, but now that the war of 1914-18 is over it seems certain that the unrestricted Free Trade of the last two generations will not command its ancient popularity. Three years of bitter privation in the way of foodstuffs have shown every man the disadvantage of depending too much on foreign grown wheat and foreign made manufactures.

Meanwhile through all the reign of Edward VII (1901-10) the aspect of foreign affairs had been growing more lowering year by year, though the outburst of the storm was delayed till nearly four years after his death. The troubling cause was the obvious intention of Germany to inflict the domination of her will upon the world. Her army had always been a threat to her land-neighbours but from 1900 onward the portentous building up of her navy became a challenge to Great Britain also. Moreover, the growth of her territorial and commercial ambitions could be traced not only in the writings of the "Pan-Germans," but in practical working the "peaceful penetration" of German capital and German manufactures into every quarter of the world was the great economic feature of the first ten years of the twentieth century. The uneasy feeling of suspicion roused in Great Britain led to a tentative agreement with France, the so-called *Entente Cordiale*, which, however, pledged Britain to no more than a friendly discussion of the situation with France whenever European crises might arise. But whatever was the feeling in instructed political circles, the bulk of the nation and many of the Liberal Cabinet refused to believe that Germany had any set

design of forcing war upon the world, and considered that all difficulties might be settled by conferences and arbitration

Edward VII, a great exponent of the *Entente* and a friend of France, died in 1910, before foreign troubles had come to a head, and was succeeded by his son, George V, our present much-respected sovereign. The European situation had steadily grown more threatening, especially since Germany had refused in 1912 a scheme for the general and parallel restriction of naval armaments

The final crisis, which several times had seemed imminent—at the time of the Agadir incident (German intervention in Morocco, 1910), and again during the Balkan wars of 1912-13—was so long deferred that many politicians regarded it as a vain fear, never to be realised

It came like a thunder-clap in July 1914, having its nominal cause in an attempt of Austria to curtail the sovereign rights of Serbia, whom she accused of having instigated the deplorable murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo on June 28. It had really been the work of local assassins irritated by Austrian oppression. Declining to listen to the peaceful and conciliatory replies of the Serbian Government, the Austrians declared war on Serbia at forty-eight hours' notice, refusing all attempt at mediation by Great Britain and other powers. Russia protested and mobilised her southern armies, whereupon Germany declared war not only on her but on France, whom she summoned to declare her neutrality within twenty-four hours or to face war. While the British Government was still making agonised attempts to

delay at least the irreparable outbreak of war, till mediation had time to say a word, the German Government widened the sphere of hostilities by an utterly unprovoked invasion of neutral Belgium, on the avowed ground that she would achieve a strategic advantage by this lawless act. Great Britain by the treaty of 1839 was bound to protect the soil and neutrality of Belgium, and protested. The German Chancellor thereupon declared that the British guarantee of Belgium was a "scrap of paper" and challenged the British Ambassador to weigh the consequences of redeeming such a pledge. On the news that the Germans had crossed the Belgian frontier, the Asquith Government declared war (August 4, 1914).

Only eleven days had passed since the first threat of serious trouble had been given by the Austrian ultimatum of July 25, and the British people had hardly realised that a crisis had come before they found themselves involved in a war such as the world had never seen. The German planning had been so complete and long studied that at first it appeared that its unscrupulous perfection would lead to victory. All Eastern Belgium was overrun before the French could gather a competent army upon their northern frontier, or Britain could send more than two regular army corps to help. Overwhelmed by numbers at Charleroi and Mons (August 23), the Allies were forced back far into Northern France, and the Germans had won their way to within thirty miles of Paris before they were finally checked and turned back by the "Miracle of the Marne," the desperate counter offensive of Marshal Joffre delivered with French troops drawn in hastily from all quarters (September 5-6-7). This battle saved

The
Marne
and the
Aisne

Paris and drove back the Germans for many miles, but they stood again to fight on the Aisne in an extended position and could be pushed no further (September-October 1914)

The first crisis of the war had ended without a "decision," and it was clear that the struggle would not be the six weeks' march to victory of which the German Emperor and his General Staff had dreamed. But no one foresaw that the trench-fighting which began when the Germans dug themselves in upon the Aisne was to be the typical form of warfare for no less than four years. No prophet on either side conceived that the nations could keep up such a struggle for such a length of time without moral collapse on one side or the other. Such nevertheless was to be the course of the war.

The first campaigns ended in a deadlock, a desperate attempt of the Germans to turn the northern front of the Anglo-French line and to seize the Channel Ports, being foiled at the first battle of Ypres (October 20-November 15) by a most stubborn defence against superior numbers, which succeeded, but only by another miracle almost as great as that of the Marne. The victory thinned the old British regular army to a skeleton.

It was during these autumn months, October-November, that all the parties in the struggle began to count up their resources and prepare for a long effort.

In Great Britain the rush of volunteers was enormous, and hundreds of new battalions, "Kitchener's Army," were raised. But uniforms, rifles, and munitions were wanting, and with the best of good will there were many months to spend before the new troops could take the field. The first of

them did not cross the Channel till the spring of 1915, and no combined effort to use them on a large scale could be made till the following September. Before that date the war had spread round all the world, Turkey having come in on the side of Ger- many, and Italy seven months later on the side of the *Entente* Powers. These additions to the fighting front had no immediate effect in bringing about a decision. The Turks failed in a futile attempt to break the Suez Canal (February 1915), but the complete check of the British land and sea expedition against Constantinople, which was intended to open up a way for communication with Russia, had a much more important effect. After it was seen that all the efforts to force the Dardanelles had failed, Bulgaria was emboldened to throw in her lot with the Germans and Turks. This addition to the fighting power of the enemy had disastrous results, for the Bulgarians fell upon the rear of Serbia, who had hitherto kept up a heroic and successful resistance to the Austrians. Overwhelmed by the attack on two sides the Serbian army had to evacuate its native soil, and only escaped by a desperate winter march to the sea (November-December 1915) over the Albanian mountains. It was brought round to Salonica, where an Allied army, largely composed of the troops which had failed at Gallipoli, was got together to resist the further advance of the Bulgarians and the Austrians. In this part of the world the war stood still for the next two years, but the Germans by the occupation of Serbia had opened up free communication with Turkey, and could keep up the war in the East without hindrance. Meanwhile the Italians had been brought to a stand in the passes of the Alps, and could not push the Austrians

from Trieste or Trent. The only use of their intervention to the Western Allies was that it occupied the attention of half the Austrian army, which might otherwise have been used elsewhere. But the great feature of the second year of the war was the commencement of the *débâcle* of Russia. During the first seven months of the struggle the Russians invaded Austria and won much ground. But in the summer of 1915 the Germans, falling to a defensive posture in the West against the French and English, threw their reserves upon Russia, recovered the lost Austrian territory, and then proceeded to overrun Russian Poland. Warsaw and the rest of the kingdom fell into their hands. On the whole, then, the year 1915 had been a discouraging one for the *Entente* Powers, but gave no sign of any end to the struggle.

Doubting whether the final decision would be reached by land-campaigns, the Germans then turned to the sea—their outlying colonies had been easily captured, and their distant raiding ships had been exterminated by the British. But they hoped to bring a deadly pressure on Great Britain by the ruthless use of the submarine, whose efficiency as a destroyer of commerce was first discovered during this war. Warfare first against Allied merchantmen, and later against all neutral ships trading with England, France, or Italy, was prosecuted with great vigour, and thousands of trading vessels were sunk. But the mercantile marine showed an unbroken spirit, and by many ingenious devices the way of dealing with submarine attacks was finally discovered. Two hundred of these pests were sunk during the last three years of the war, but Great Britain suffered much discomfort if no actual privation

The Ger
man Sub
marine
Cam
paign.

of food supplies by their activity. On the other hand the submarine war had one effect which was very fatal to Germany—the ruthless cruelty with which it was practised against neutrals ultimately goaded the United States into coming into the war, and after the American declaration of hostilities in the spring of 1917, the end of the struggle could be foreseen without much doubt. The moment that the States should have trained and sent to Europe the enormous army that they were capable of raising, the odds would be hopeless against the Central Powers. But it took more than a year to raise and transport that army, and meanwhile the *Entente* Powers had a hard crisis before them.

The year 1916 had been one of balanced fortunes, a great German assault on Verdun had been foiled in the spring and summer by the French, and in the autumn the British, attacking with the whole of their new armies on the Somme, made the first great dent in the German battlefront which had yet been seen. The solitary attempt of the German fleet to try its fortune in battle was defeated at the battle of Jutland on June 1. But in the East Russia was continuing to crumble. Her old regular army was almost exterminated, retreat was incessant, and the national *moral* was giving way. In the following winter this led to results most disastrous for the Allies, a revolution broke out and the Czar was deposed, to be ultimately murdered with all his family. The Liberal Republic which replaced the Czardom was absolutely helpless and incapable—its armies melted away—all order was lost—and in the autumn of 1917 it was upset by the anarchist Bolsheviks. These fanatics

Cam-
paigns
of 1916

The
Russian
Revolu-
tion.

offered peace to Germany in order to have a free hand for reconstruction and massacre at home. They gladly surrendered Poland, Lithuania, and vast tracts of Western Russia at the disgraceful treaty of Brest-Litovsk (December 1917).

Thus for the first time the Germans found themselves free from the Eastern war and could throw all their strength to the West, where it was much needed, for the French and British had been making perceptible if slow progress all through the year 1917, though the Italians had suffered a sad disaster at Caporetto in the autumn, and had been driven back from the Alps to the plains of Venetia. It was clear that submarine warfare was not going to settle the fate of the nations, and that the only way in which Germany could win was by smashing down, by a last effort, the main

The last
Phase

Franco-British army on the Western Front. Every available man was hurried back from Russia, and by March 1918 the Germans had concentrated very superior numbers on the line that ran from the Flemish coast to Verdun. The superiority of numbers was destined to vanish during the course of the summer, for the American troops were now pouring across the Atlantic by hundreds of thousands, mainly on British transports, the submarines were wholly unable to stop them. But it does not appear that the German General Staff fully appreciated the fact that the American succours were so powerful, or that they were playing a game against time. The final German offensive was delivered in three separate blows during the spring and early summer of 1918. In each case vastly superior numbers were concentrated on a limited front, and a broad dent was made in the Allied line, the first attack was made

between St Quentin and the Somme, the second in the extreme north between Ypres and Bethune, the third in Champagne between Soissons and Rheims. Each attack had immense success at first, but each gradually slowed down as the losses grew too great and the Allies' reserves came up. The first, in March, was perhaps the most dangerous of the three, as it got to within ten miles of Amiens, the junction point of the British and the French armies. But it failed to break through, as did the others that came later. By July the Germans' last bolt was shot, their last reserves engaged. Then came the counter-stroke for which Marshal Foch had been saving up the Allied armies. It was completely successful—first in the centre where the French regained the line of the Aisne, then on the left where the British drove in the whole German front from Arras to Peronne. The Americans on the right advanced slowly, but detained in front of them great masses of German troops. For the whole autumn the British army formed the striking wing of the Allied advance, breaking through line after line and capturing 200,000 prisoners. The Germans had been forced back to the Belgian frontier, and Mons, where the war had started for the British, had just been retaken when complete collapse ensued—worse than that which struck the Russians two years before. There were republican risings in Germany—the Emperor fled from the army which would no longer obey him, and the new German Government asked for peace on any terms, disbanded its troops and surrendered its fleet. Before the last collapse in November the allies of Germany had all suffered the same fate—in September General Allenby had destroyed and captured the whole Turkish army in Syria. During the same month the Bulgarians

laid down their arms on seeing their line broken by the Allied army from Salonica, in whose ranks the Serbians at last got their revenge. The Austrians having failed to break the Italian line in Venetia, were routed by a counter-stroke which chased them back over the Alps in October, whereupon they drove away their Emperor, and sued for any peace that might be given them.

So ended the greatest war in the history of the world. Its consequences can only be considered when time has given the historian the leisure necessary to view the whole astounding crisis in perspective.

CHAPTER XXX

INDIA AND THE COLONIES (1815-1918)

SINCE the days of Lord Wellesley the British supremacy in India had been gradually increasing under successive Governor-Generals, until the Punjab, the realm of the Sikhs, was the only part of the country not directly under British suzerainty. The Mahrattas, the one power which in 1800 seemed likely to contest the suzerainty of the whole peninsula with the East India Company, had been finally crushed in 1817-18. Attempts were even being made to extend our influence beyond the border of the peninsula. A disastrous war was undertaken in

First Afghan War	1838 against the Afghans, a wild and warlike people, whose country lay north of the Punjab, because Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, being alarmed by the intrigues of the Russians with Afghanistan, had resolved to establish the British supremacy in that country. He replaced on its throne
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Shah Sujah, a prince who had once ruled there, but had been driven out by his countrymen. When this had been done, an English force was left in Candahar and Cabul, the two chief towns of Afghanistan, to support the Shah.

But the Afghan tribes hated the ruler imposed on them by strangers, and in the winter of 1841-42 a general rising took place. After severe fighting General Elphinstone, the English commander in Cabul, was obliged to retreat, after signing a humiliating treaty with the Afghan chiefs. But the treacherous enemy attacked the retreating army as it struggled through the snow of the Khyber Pass, and massacred the whole force. A single Englishman escaped to bear the tidings of the catastrophe. Shah Sujah was murdered by the rebels, and all Afghanistan was lost, save the two fortresses of Candahar and Jelalabad, whose gallant defence is the only redeeming episode in the war (1842).

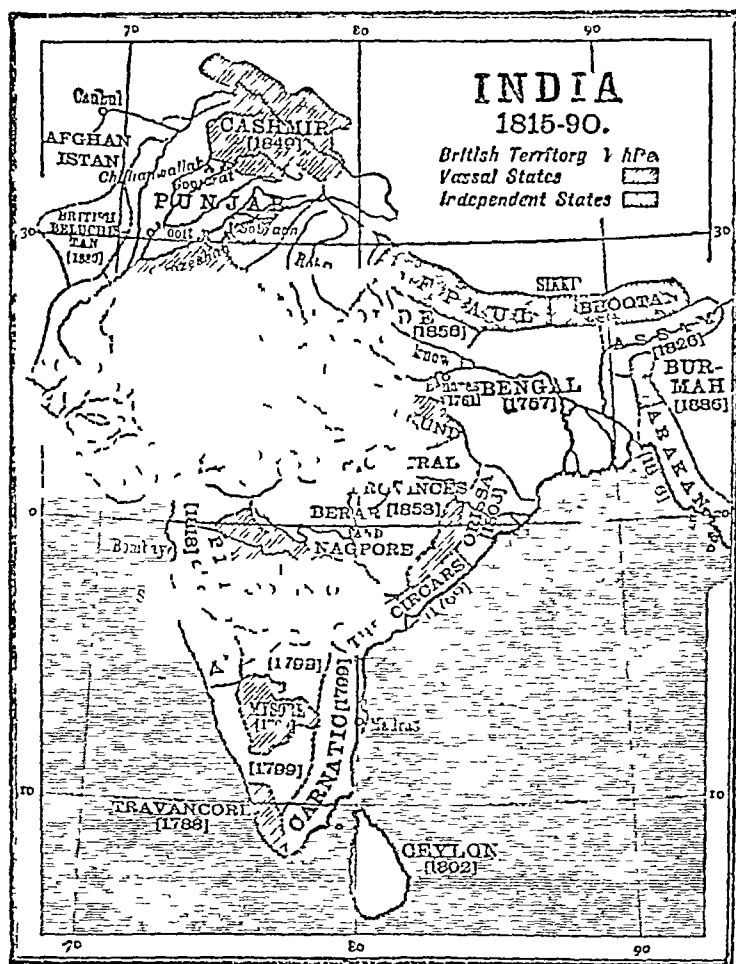
To avenge the disaster a new English army forced its way to Cabul, defeating the Afghans. But after destroying the chief buildings in the capital the force withdrew from the country, and for many years Afghanistan was left alone by the British.

Soon after the British dominions were increased by the annexation of the province of Scinde, at the mouth of the Indus, after a short and brilliant campaign carried out by Sir Charles Napier (1843).

The next war was of a very different character, and saw the hardest fighting which has ever taken place in India. The Sikhs of the Punjab, a brave and warlike people, invaded our North-West Provinces, and it required desperate fighting on the part of the British troops, little aided by their native auxiliaries, to drive them back. Two costly

The Sikh
War

campaigns (1845-46 and 1848-49) were needed before the Sikh army was subdued, and great battles at



Sobraon, Chillianwallah, and Gujerat were only won after heavy losses on our side. At last the Punjab

was annexed, its young ruler, Dhuleep Singh, being sent to live in England on a pension

A succeeding Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, carried out further annexations, making an end of the kingdom of Oude and several other badly governed vassal states (1853-56) This policy was fated to have grave consequences, by raising a feeling of distrust and resentment against the British rule among both Hindoo and Mohammedan peoples

In 1857 broke out the terrible Sepoy mutiny, which nearly ended the British dominion in India The British forces in the country had been much diminished in numbers, owing to troops having been sent to the war in the Crimea and to China¹ When, therefore, the native army mutinied the rising was a formidable one, because hardly any white regiments were at hand to hold them in check

The widespread feeling of discontent that prevailed among the people was brought to a head by the native troops declaring that their religion was being attacked They said that the new rifles issued to the army required the greasing of cartridges by the fat of pigs and cattle, the touch of which was contamination to Mohammedans and Hindoos respectively They believed that the Government meant them to be polluted, and then to force them to become Christians This foolish rumour set the whole army in a flame

The first rising was at Meerut, the great cantonment near Delhi, and in the months of May and June more than forty garrisons in the valleys of the Ganges and Jumna mutinied, their rising being followed by hideous cruelty, European officers were treacherously shot, and hundreds of women and children massacred

¹ See pp 219, 221

Both Hindoos and Mohammedans joined the rising, but the guidance of the mutiny was in the hands of the latter, who proclaimed a descendant of the Great Mogul Emperor of India, and made the ancient city of Delhi the centre of the rebellion

Farther south, in Oude—one of the kingdoms recently annexed—the whole population rose in arms to restore their late king, and besieged the English garrison in the Residency of Lucknow

The Punjab, where the English regiments were more numerous than in any other part of India, was kept under control by its capable governor, Sir John Lawrence. He was able in June to send an expedition against Delhi, which, after a long siege and desperate fighting, was taken in September 1857

The authorities at Calcutta meanwhile sent a small force under General Havelock to subdue Oude. When he reached Cawnpore, he found that the English garrison there had surrendered to the chief of the rebels, Nana Sahib, who promised them a safe retreat. But as soon as they left their entrenchments he massacred all, save 200 women and children. When the news of Havelock's advance was heard, the Nana had those poor survivors murdered and cast into the famous "well of Cawnpore." Havelock's brigade cut its way into the city one day too late to save these prisoners, but wreaked a terrible vengeance on their murderers

The relieving force then pushed its way on to Lucknow, where the Residency had been gallantly defended for eighty-seven days. But 60,000 rebels still hung around the town, and the final relief of Lucknow was only accomplished by Sir Colin Campbell, who arrived in India with the first reinforcements from home

Campbell then defeated the Oude insurgents in several engagements, crushing them finally at Bareilly (March 1858). Sir Hugh Rose at the same time subdued a rising of the Mahiattas in Central India, who were beaten and dispersed at the battle of Gwahor (June 1858).

By the autumn of 1858 the great Mutiny was ended, it had been a ferocious struggle, in which the treachery and cruelty of the Sepoys was punished with ruthless severity.

The English nation were convinced that something must be done to reform the administration of India, and the East India Company was abolished by an Act of Parliament in 1858, the whole administration, civil and military, of the peninsula being now taken over by the Queen's Government. Lord Canning, the Governor-General, whose conduct throughout the war had been cool and courageous, was made the first Viceroy of the new Empire.

The history of India since the Mutiny has been a record of growing prosperity, of the development of trade and industries, the building of railways and canals, and the increase—especially since the completion of the Suez Canal—of sea-borne trade.

There have been many small frontier wars in the later history of British India, undertaken by the Government to protect their borders against the wild tribes on the north and north-west. But the only great struggle that has taken place since the Mutiny is the second second Afghan war of 1878-80. The intrigues Afghan of Shere Ali, the Ameer of Afghanistan, with War Russia were made the pretext by Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, for an invasion of that country.

An expedition, led by General Roberts, accomplished

its work, putting the Ameer to flight, and establishing an English Resident at Cabul. But as soon as the British force withdrew the Afghans rose in rebellion, just as in 1842, and murdered the Resident and his escort.

A second invasion then took place, in the course of which a brigade under General Burrows was defeated at Maiwand and driven back to Candahar. General Roberts, however, by a rapid march from Cabul to Candahar saved the garrison there, and routed the Afghan army (September 1880).

The Liberal Government, which was by this time in power, refused to annex Afghanistan, and decided to evacuate the country. Abdur Rahman Khan, a nephew of the late Ameer, was recognised as its ruler. He proved faithful to the English alliance, as did his son and successor Habibullah (1901-1919).

The year 1877 marked a new era in India's history for a great *Durbar* was held at Delhi to proclaim the Queen as Empress of India. Since then the relations between England and India have become more intimate. Every attempt has been made to enlist the sympathies of the natives on behalf of the British rule. Their princes have been encouraged to visit England, to interest themselves in public works, education, and internal reforms, and to supply troops for the general service of the empire. Elective municipalities have been created in the cities, to teach their motley population the art of self-government—which they are still very far from having learnt. A growing share in the administration is granted to native civil servants, and the native press has been granted a liberty which it often abuses. All financial and agrarian legislation is framed to press as lightly as possible on the masses.

But the results of these efforts are still somewhat problematic, the grant of many privileges is followed by the demand for more disloyal associations clamour for complete self-government, for which the land is not ready, and the British bayonet is still needed to keep the peace between contending races and creeds, as has been shown within the last year

The history of our Australian Colonies begins with the foundation of a penal settlement at Botany Bay, in the end of the eighteenth century (1788) But The Aus-
tralian
Colonies after a time the astounding fertility of the soil of New South Wales attracted thousands of immigrants, who scattered themselves over the face of the country, rearing vast herds of cattle and sheep In 1851 an enormous difference was made by the discovery of gold-fields near Port Philip, on the southern shore of the continent, this news led to a rapid influx of adventurers eager for the sudden wealth obtainable in the "diggings" This district was cut off from New South Wales, and, under the name of the colony of Victoria, continues to be one of the great gold-producing centres of the world

The other Australian Colonies are Queensland, which was formed from the northern territory of New South Wales in 1859, South Australia, settled in 1836, Western Australia, settled in 1829, and the island of Tasmania

The union of the six Australian Colonies into a single Commonwealth took place at the opening of the twentieth century On January 1, 1901, the Federal Union of the Australian Colonies came into being, their form of government consisting of a central Parliament which meets on the borders of New South Wales and Victoria, while each colony retains its own Parliament

for local administration That it would lead to any "particularist" estrangement from the general *entente* of the British peoples has been proved to be a vain fear by the glorious part played by the Commonwealth in the great war of 1914-18, in which its contribution to the British armies was so splendid in numbers, quality, and achievement Australia has its own problems—labour troubles have been constant and vexatious, and the commonwealth keeps a keen eye on the question of the immigration of Chinese and Japanese labourers, and is reasonably jealous of the naval domination in the Pacific, which it is determined to keep secure It has taken over the German colonies in its neighbourhood—New Guinea, etc—as one of the consequences of the recently ended war

Far to the east of Australia lie the two islands of New Zealand, first colonised in 1839 The natives of these islands were a fierce and clever race of cannibals, named Maoris They resented the settlement of their land by the colonists, and raised two considerable wars before the incomers could consider themselves safe in their new country Since the last of these wars ended (1866) the Maoris have quieted down, and become loyal and civilised subjects of the Crown New Zealand more resembles Great Britain in climate and situation than any other of the colonies, and has enjoyed a long career of prosperity, with which it is so satisfied that it has declined to join the Australian Commonwealth It supplied a large contingent for the great war of 1914-18, which shared in the fortunes of the Australian corps in Gallipoli, Flanders, and Palestine with the greatest possible credit

Passing westward across the Indian Ocean we come

to the second great group of British Colonies—those of South Africa. The old Dutch dominion of the Cape of Good Hope was conquered by the British in 1806, and secured to us by the Treaty of Vienna in 1814.

When English emigration was directed to the Cape, many of the Dutch farmers, or Boers, who were settled there, resented the intrusion of the foreigner, and migrated into the interior of Africa to conquer new homes among the Kaffirs. But the British Government followed them, annexing Natal, of which they had taken possession (1843). After this the Boers moved yet farther, and set up the two Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (1852-54).

The Cape Colony developed slowly, being constantly involved in struggles with the Kaffir tribes, each of which led to an extension of the British dominions, until not only all the country south of the Orange River passed into the hands of the settlers, but also the district west of the Orange Free State, where the Kimberley diamond mines were discovered (1867-72).

The first formidable difficulty which the British met with in South Africa began in 1877. The Boers of the Transvaal having engaged themselves in dangerous wars with the natives, Lord Beaconsfield's Government resolved to annex the Republic. This was done, and the English were in consequence involved in a serious struggle with the neighbouring tribe of the Zulus, who had quarrelled with the Boers. The first meeting with this strong and savage race brought disaster to the British arms at Isandula, where a whole British battalion and 1000 native auxiliaries were exterminated. It required the despatch of 10,000

troops from England under Sir Garnet Wolseley, and three sharp battles, to break the power of the Zulus (1879)

Hardly were they subdued before the Boers of the Transvaal revolted, and defeated the small British force in Natal at Laing's Nek and Majuba Hill. We have seen elsewhere how the Gladstone Government thereupon made peace and granted the Boers their independence (1881). The ill-feeling between the British colonists and the Boers smouldered on, until it broke forth in the South African war of 1899-1901, and ended in the annexation of the two Boer Republics, as has been related in an earlier chapter.

In 1906 the Campbell-Bannerman ministry made what appeared a hazardous experiment to many critics, when it restored responsible self-government to the recently conquered Transvaal and Orange River Colony. Despite of all forebodings the result was satisfactory. The greater and more important section of the Dutch population accepted the grant of autonomy in the spirit in which it was offered, and, thanks largely to the admirable statesmanship of General Botha—the last commander-in-chief of the old republican army, the first British prime minister of the Transvaal—it was found that loyal co-operation between the two sections of the population was possible. The restoration of self-government to the Transvaal was followed three years later (1909) by the union of all the South African Colonies, British and Dutch, in a federation, drawn up somewhat on the model of the Australian and Canadian experiments. It resembled the latter more than the former in that it was essentially bilingual, every care being taken to give equal rights to the English and Dutch tongues, as was

done in Canada with the English and French. A minority of irreconcilable Boers protested, and still continue to protest. Their weakness no less than their perversity was displayed in 1914-15, when a trifling rising in collusion with the Germans was put down with ease, not by imperial British troops, but by the loyal levies of South Africa, who then proceeded, under the leadership of General Botha, to invade and conquer the neighbouring German colony from which the trouble had been fostered. When this was finished, a considerable South African contingent sailed for Europe, and did good service in the French campaigns of 1916-18.

The history of the British Colonies in North America is of a very different character from that of British South Africa. The provinces of Eastern and Western (or Lower and Upper) Canada were separated from each other by race, language, and pre-^{Canada}judice, for the settlers in the Western province were an English people, while the Eastern Canadians were of French race, descended from the colonists who had fought so well against us in the Seven Years' War. In 1837 the French-speaking districts rose in rebellion, complaining that their Government was oppressive. The revolt was easily suppressed, and after investigating the grievances that had led to it, the British Cabinet united the two provinces into a single colony, at the same time conceding a larger measure of self-government than they had hitherto enjoyed (1840). From this moment the state of affairs began to improve, and Canada entered into an uninterrupted career of peaceful development, spreading ever westward towards the great prairies of the west, the most fruitful corn-land of the world.

In 1867 took place the federation of the whole of the British colonies of North America into the single "Dominion of Canada" Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and British Columbia united themselves with Canada, and agreed to send deputies to the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa, while retaining a Parliament in each province to manage their own affairs. The island of Newfoundland alone preferred to remain outside of the alliance. The Canadian Pacific Railway, completed in 1885, has opened free communication over the whole of the British-American lands—from Halifax on the Atlantic to Vancouver on the Pacific, and every year the wealth and population of the vast agricultural plains of Manitoba and the farther West increases with a rapidity that borders on the marvellous. Yet so much soil still remains to be settled and put under the plough, that the possible development of the Canadian inland seems illimitable.

Of the magnificent services of the immense Canadian contingent during the war of 1914-18 no one can speak too highly, and the names of Ypres, Vimy Ridge, and Amiens are sufficient to recall its services to the Union of British peoples.

If we look into the future, the fact that the American, Australian, and South African colonies have all now organised themselves into Federal Unions, suggests the greater problem as to whether there should not ere long arise a Federal Union of the whole British Empire—a formal pact between Great Britain and all the Britains beyond the seas. At present the crown is the only formal link between the many lands over which the Union Jack floats. A feeling of sympathy and mutual loyalty exists, as was abundantly shown by the splendid aid given by the overseas common-

wealths in the great war of 1914-18 The development of rapid communication by land, sea, and air makes the distance between the outlying communities less felt as each year rolls by Is something more than an *entente* between all the Britains desirable? Or does the spirit of the race, which loves an honest working arrangement and views "cast-iron constitutions" with suspicion, ask for no more than a brotherly understanding between the kindred communities? Time and experience can alone decide

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